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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COLONIALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE: DISTRICT OF KEEWATIN, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

by

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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis an attempt is made to present a Marxist analysis of economic and socio-cultural change in the District of Keewatin, Northwest Territories. Three settlements are focused on: Eskimo Point, Baker Lake, and Rankin Inlet. Following a brief overview of the history of white-Eskimo contact, a tentative analysis of the nature of aboriginal Caribou Eskimo social organization is outlined. In the last chapter, some of the alternative approaches to the study of economic and socio-cultural change are considered and there follows a Marxist analysis of socio-economic conditions in the present-day Canadian Arctic.

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PREFACE

Throughout the writing of this thesis I have had the feeling that it is at best a crude and unfinished product. Since the beginning of my training as a graduate student in anthropology (following an undergraduate psychology major) I have progressively endured and enjoyed a number of marked shifts in my theoretical and methodological orientation. At one time my first interest in anthropology was culture and personality studies and comparative-statistical work. After profound disillusionment with psychological anthropology, my interests shifted in the direction of ecological and cultural-evolutionary problems. At the same time, I had become more interested in economic and political anthropology. While this proved satisfying for a time, a period of depression and stagnation later set in. It was some months before I embarked towards a more Marxist orientation--with greater emphasis on political economy than on culture and social anthropological theory. This I do not see as random change, but rather change in a definite direction.

Even while writing this thesis I suffered numerous theoretical distractions. What the end result of all this may be is the possible presence of some very basic confusions in my approach. Even if my perspective is relatively clear, it is not conventional anthropology. My appreciation of Marxist thought is at the level of a novice and has far to go before it can be regarded as mature. This, I suppose, is not an uncommon dilemma. Hopefully, some of these problems will be resolved in my doctoral dissertation and future research.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis an attempt will be made to explain the apparent inability of Caribou Eskimos to evolve new types of social organization to cope with changed conditions brought on as a result of extensive contact with Europeans. Eskimos have been unable to present any kind of unified front to the white, southern-oriented, essentially colonial administration to which they are subject. Participation by Eskimos in the decision-making process that affects them is minimal. The outlook of white administrators in the Arctic is paternalistic, regarding Eskimos as wards of the federal government.

It was not until after the Second World War that the Canadian government took an increased interest in the welfare of its Eskimos. The decline of the fur trade together with a reduction in the size of Caribou herds forced many Eskimos to become increasingly dependent on relief and welfare payments in order to survive. At the same time white intrusion grew more intense as a result of increased concern over national defense. With the realization that a hunting and trapping economy was becoming less and less viable, the policy of the various agencies concerned with Eskimo administration shifted from one of cultural preservation to an attempt to alleviate economic distress and at the same time provide alternatives to a welfare economy.

The programs developed in connection with the government's model of modernization described above have for the most part been unsuccessful. Despite widespread unemployment and underemployment, Eskimos have made few demands on the government. Opposition to the

implementation of government programs has been virtually non-existent--or at least has not been expressed overtly in the form of boycotts, strikes, rebellions, or back-to-the-land movements. Contemporary Eskimo settlements lack the leadership for effective opposition to, or at least participation in Northern administration. Why have Eskimos offered so little resistance to white intrusion into the Arctic? Disagreement with government policy--which often fails miserably to accomplish its desired ends--is expressed through apathy. Not only is there apathy, but there seems to be a certain resignation to powerlessness which is attributable, at least in part, to the context of colonialism to which Eskimos have been forced to adapt.

It is suggested here that the two sets of variables must be examined to understand why the development of new forms of Eskimo social organization to cope with radically altered economic and political conditions has been retarded: first, antecedents in traditional* Eskimo social organization at the time of first contacts with Europeans--how did Eskimos enter the contact situation? with what "social skills" in terms of leadership and structural-organizational arrangements?--and second, the history of contact, white attitudes towards the acculturative situation, and administrative policy.

My own biases toward the study of social change in the Arctic

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*There is a good deal of controversy regarding the nature of "traditional"--i.e., aboriginal Eskimo social organization. The disruptive effects of white contact had made themselves felt long before the first ethnographic work had been completed in the Central Arctic (Birket-Smith, Rasmussen et al). E. R. Service (1962:107) attributes the present composite band structure to the catastrophic effects of European contact (epidemics and resultant depopulation) and believes that aboriginal Eskimo social organization was not at a family level. This problem will be explored in greater detail later on.

must be made clear. The model of the "primitive isolate" (Redfield, 1956:8)--"The isolated self-contained community" (Redfield, 1956:11)--on which much social anthropological work has depended, is no longer adequate. Watson (1963:357) states that

> Much use of acculturation material is internally oriented. The autonomy and 'pre-contact' stability of primitive systems so often considered may account in part for this prevalent orientation. Since the intrusive culture was usually Western, moreover, Western observers have felt less need to deal explicitly with it, and the outside has thus largely been taken for granted. This 'one-sided' view, as Kroeber (1948:428) calls it, is doubtless also a continuation of the ethnographic practice of treating societies and cultures as islands rather than as parts of a main. Even the familiar terms 'pre-contact' and 'post-contact' are more consistent with an island invaded than a changing main.

Eskimo communities are not isolated, "primitive" societies undergoing extinction. To speak in terms of phenomena such as social disorganization or "social disintegration" (Honigmann, 1965:200) does little to illuminate external conditions. Change in Eskimo social organization must be discussed within the context of the larger society and "national pattern" (Steward, 1955:64). The posture of the dominant, intrusive culture towards the contact situation is the crucial variable to consider.

> Continuity of change should be considered forms of adaptation, but adaptation to what? With an island model, a circular answer easily occurs: adaptation to 'acculturation'.... General theory requires that certain sorts of change be more or less constantly related to certain sorts of conditions, and an acculturation model is desirable that constantly, rather than intermittently and opportunistically,

> highlights external conditions--as well as indigenous tendencies. (Watson, 1963:358)

The "certain sorts of conditions" that must be considered are the different patterns of white intrusion through time. Eskimo social organization has gone through a series of changes in response to different kinds of intrusion. Eskimos have been able to adapt to some kinds of intrusion but not others. For example, trapping was easily fitted into Eskimo cultural patterns (familiarity with the land, habits of game, etc.). Successful adaptation was made to a particular kind of intrusion. But Eskimos had no control over markets and prices. When the pattern of intrusion changed--e.g., mining--the possibility for adaptation to it was slight, because of the skills and capital required.

Government policy toward Northern development can basically be described as one of neglect. Until the "Eskimo problem" became serious enough to merit government attention, a laissez-faire attitude toward the North was held. Eskimos were largely irrelevant to Northern development. The North was seen as exploitable but too expensive to develop. In effect, the Northwest Territories and for that matter the northern parts of the provinces have had a colonial status.

> The colony's economy is not integrated into that of the nation as a whole. It is still organized to complete the economy of the different mother countries. Colonialism hardly ever exploits the whole of a country. It contents itself with bringing to light the natural resources, which it extracts and exports to meet the needs of the mother country's industries, thereby allowing certain sectors of the economy to become relatively rich. But the rest of the colony follows its path of underdevelopment and poverty, or at all events sinks into it more deeply. (Fanon, 1961:159)

When the Northwest Territories were under British control, exploited

resources were mainly whales (for baleen) and furs. When the Northwest Territories came under Canadian control, exploitable resources were mainly furs and minerals for export to southern Canada and a number of foreign countries. Eskimos were a readily available labor force employable for certain kinds of resource exploitation such as trapping. Where skilled labor was necessary (D.E.W. Line construction or mining), it was imported from southern Canada. Eskimos were employed only in unskilled and semi-skilled position, often at low wages. No opportunity was provided to attain vocational skills of various kinds.

Government policy held that Eskimos should be encouraged to stay on the land--though this did not, of course, prevent their exploitation as a source of cheap labor. However, as white activities in the North grew in scope, certain irreversible changes had been wrought. As more Eskimos were employed in construction projects and other activities, permanent settlements began to develop. Employment was often seasonal and sporadic; living conditions were often marginal. As there was less and less attraction to going back to the land in slack periods, the need for government aid developed. Also, the chances of making a living from trapping became increasingly poor as greater numbers of people began to cluster in permanent settlements. Increased population density led to rapid depletion of fur resources. Eskimos found themselves quickly urbanized but lacking any effective basis for village integration (Hughes, 1965:27). Eskimos have not been able to adapt to an urban setting with a trapping-based social organization. This coincided with an influx of white administrators who never really permitted Eskimo social organization to change but rather imposed a model of modernization. Government policy was designed supposedly to

relieve economic distress. This is not possible as long as deliberate underdevelopment continues. (Even in 1968 with the establishment of the Pan-Arctic oil exploration consortium (Time, December 22, 1967, p. 12), a joint government-private undertaking, little provision was made to provide employment and training opportunities for local Eskimos. Any attempt by the government to project a new and enlightened image must be regarded cynically.)

The influx of white administrative personnel--who attempt to implement programs of a "rehabilitative" nature--has had profound effects on the social organization of Arctic settlements. These settlements have become highly stratified. Whites, as executors of government policy, occupy high-status positions and are overwhelmingly dominant in terms of wealth, power, and prestige. Eskimos have become what Valentine and Vallee (1968:ix) have termed a "frontier, non-agricultural proletariat". Fried (1968:2) suggests that "the small, modern Eskimo settlement" can be viewed structurally as a "reservation ... in so far as we see a native community being 'serviced' by a bureaucratically organized, small enclave of government administrators and specialists". This type of structure which whites have created effectively denies Eskimos participation in policy-making and administration. Fried (1968: 10-11) says that

> The growth of local awareness leading to a demand for real participation cannot, obviously, be expected in this early phase. Despite some initial experimental successes with Eskimo cooperatives ... it is still essentially true that the native must be content to be the object of governmental manipulation since there is no way he can effectively operate in the national context or develop local economic or social autonomy, given the basic lack

> of both physical resources and social skills necessary to do so.

The colonial nature of government policy has prevented Eskimos from operating in the national context and has reduced their economic and social autonomy.

In this analysis I will focus on present-day community organization of three settlements located in the District of Keewatin, Northwest Territories: Baker Lake, Rankin Inlet and Eskimo Point. An attempt will be made first to describe the types of settlements and social organization that exist. Following this, a brief history of Eskimo-white contact will be presented describing the kinds of roles that whites played. Next, the problem of the nature of Eskimo social organization at the time of first contacts will be dealt with--since there is a good deal of controversy as to what constitutes "traditional" Eskimo social organization. Then, having presented the contemporary scene, the history of contact, and the nature of traditional Eskimo social organization, an attempt will be made to present a Marxist analysis of the two sides of change. In this last section detailed consideration will be given to emergent patterns of stratification. Finally, my main arguments will be very briefly summarized.

A word or two is in order as to why I have broken up my analysis in the manner outlined above. For analytic purposes, it is easier to keep the two sides of the acculturative situation apart--rather than merely present a chronological account of social change. What is desired is an explanation and an analysis--not merely social history. By focusing on a single region of the Arctic, it is hoped that a meaningful synthesis of both historical and social anthropological

data can be arrived at. Existent work on the Arctic is limited in several ways: descriptive ethnographies say little about contemporary conditions, historical sources are not ethnographically oriented, and recent monographs neglect historical factors. Also, too many anthropologists tend to assume homogeneity throughout the Eskimo culture area. The local history of contact must always be taken into consideration. My interest lies primarily in developing better theoretical analyses of economic and socio-cultural change, and only secondarily in the Arctic as a region.

CHAPTER TWO

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF ESKIMO POINT, BAKER LAKE AND RANKIN INLET

This chapter is intended to provide a brief summary of social and economic organization in Eskimo Point, Baker Lake and Rankin Inlet. The orientation is primarily descriptive and preliminary to later theoretical analysis in Chapter Five. I have relied extensively on three sources: Van Stone and Oswalt's Caribou Eskimos of Eskimo Point, Vallee's Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin (Baker Lake), and Dailey and Dailey's Eskimo of Rankin Inlet. Field work was carried out by Van Stone and Oswalt in 1959, by Vallee in 1959-60, and by the Daileys in 1958. For practical purposes the reader may assume that the ethnographic present is 1959. These three settlements have all changed radically since then. However, there is no published ethnographic material of more recent vintage available. All three monographs mentioned above were done under the auspices of the Northern Coordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Research was not coordinated in any way and therefore the material poses some problems regarding emphasis and comparability. The present author spent approximately two months in Rankin Inlet in the summer of 1967.

It should be explained why these three communities were selected for study. There are a number of other communities in the District of Keewatin that could have been included: Chesterfield Inlet, Whale Cove, Coral Harbour, Iglulik, Hall Beach and Repulse Bay. With the exception of Iglulik, there is no ethnographic data available. In

addition, many of these communities have had a substantially different history of contact and there are important sub-cultural differences as well. For example, amongst the Netsilik Eskimo population of Uglulik there are marked tendencies toward patrilineal corporate descent groups (see Damas, 1963).

The three settlements selected have been chosen for the following reason: they represent a continuum of economic and socio-cultural change. Eskimo Point is the most "traditional" of the three with a hunting, trapping, fishing economy; Baker Lake is a fairly long-established community which is becoming increasingly stratified; Rankin Inlet was the site of the first Arctic mining development (which has since closed) and the economy revolves almost completely around mining operations. The population within it can be considered a rural proletariat.

It should be emphasized that all these three settlements are relatively "young"--they are not Eskimo settlements. In aboriginal times there were never any large (200+) settlements in the Central Arctic. Jenness' (1964:9) comment in Eskimo Administration is well taken:

> ... if we except the several hundred natives of the Mackenzie River Delta, very few Canadian Eskimos ever built permanent homes prior to European contact. They banded together in the winter months whenever seals were plentiful and built temporary dwellings of snow.... But as fast as one locality ceased to yield enough seals ... they deserted their expendable villages and moved to other sealing grounds. When spring came ... families dispersed in small groups ... to search out seals in the open sea, to fish for char or trout in the lakes and rivers, and in summer to roam over the

> land in pursuit of the caribou.... Today the wanderers have uneasily settled down in their permanent villages, not one of which was located in a place of their own choosing. It was the white men who chose the sites, most of them for three reasons: because they were readily accessible by sea, possessed safe anchorages, and centered in areas sufficiently well-populated to yield the trader an abundance of furs and the missionary a plentiful harvest of souls.

Settlements have evolved from fur-trading posts and mission stations to serve numerous other functions. Also, the number of white residents has increased in recent years. Fried (1963b:94) stresses that "the culture of the new northern settlements ... is not necessarily derived by experience and does not reflect a historical process of adaptation by the settlers". Mainly,

> The settlements serve as bases for specialized personnel who carry out military, technical, communication, administration and culture contact tasks that are meant to speed up the development of the Canadian North and draw it into the economic and political order of the nation. The natives are drawn into permanent residency in these settlements in search of wage employment and to receive the benefits of government programs in education, health and welfare. (Fried, 1963b:95)

Eskimo Point and Baker Lake are what Fried (1963b:95) would call "outpost service settlements" and Rankin Inlet a "mining settlement"--though it recently reverted back to the status of an outpost service settlement when the mine closed in 1962. Two further points should be mentioned as introductory to this section: first, the distinction between settlement and community--

> ... the settlement refers to the locality of the societal occupation in relation to

> natural environment, technology and subsistence, whereas the community designates a local social group. (Chang, 1962:28)

and second, the need to consider "the overall differentiation between the Kabloona* and the Eskimos" (Vallee, 1967:2) which is characteristic of many Arctic communities. Vallee (1967:97) stresses that

> Any study which purports to analyze the human situation in an Arctic locality and which neglects the Kabloona element or treats it as a homogeneous lump must be regarded as incomplete or biased, or both. The attitudes and the behavior of the Kabloona and the social relations among them have important implications for the Eskimo.

Thus, any consideration of social and economic organization must take into account the various sub-groups that make up the total settlement. This kind of orientation has not, for the most part, characterized Arctic ethnography.

Eskimo Point

Eskimo Point is situated roughly mid-way between Rankin Inlet and Churchill. The settlement is connected by scheduled air service (once monthly) with Churchill, Manitoba, and the Hudson's Bay Company supply ship visits annually. Total population is approximately 200. The largest group consists of 165 Eskimos (Van Stone and Oswalt, 1959:1). About 100 are year-round residents and about 60 spend at least part of the year in the settlement (1959:20). Most of these people are Padlimiut (of inland origin) although a number of them have come to

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*This term is employed by Vallee to mean "non-Eskimo" (1967:2) and is used in preference to "white", "Euro-Canadian" (Honigmann), and "Western European".

Eskimo Point from other Hudson Bay settlements (1959:1). There are 13 individuals of "Western European descent" who are connected with the Department of Northern Affairs, the missions, the Hudson's Bay Company and the R.C.M.P. (1959:1). Van Stone and Oswalt (1959:1) emphasize that "only in very recent years has Eskimo Point had a permanent Eskimo population. Traditionally Padlimiut came to the coast only for part of the spring and summer.

The Eskimo population live in canvas tents most of the year and in snowhouses in winter (1959:3). Two Eskimo special constables employed by the R.C.M.P. live in frame houses owned by the R.C.M.P. Several families have dwellings constructed of wood and tarpaulins. A few families have frame houses built when fur prices were high. There are some forty other buildings in the settlement belonging to the missions, R.C.M.P., Hudson's Bay Company, and the Department of Northern Affairs. Residence patterns tend to follow religious lines: "In general the Roman Catholic families camp near their mission and the Anglican families camp near their church" (1959:3). Households are mainly those of nuclear families; often relatives live in adjacent tents (1959:4).

Trapping is still of great importance in the local economy. About one-half of the Eskimo population move inland to hunt caribou in late August. Some fishing and fowling are carried on but these activities are of little importance when caribou are numerous. Men in the camps make periodic trips to the Hudson's Bay store to trade furs for supplies. Transactions are usually in the form of credit rather than cash. During the trapping season large amounts of food must be purchased since there is not much opportunity for hunting (1959:5).

When the fox trapping season ends in April, people return to Eskimo Point and conduct sealing at the edge of the floe ice (1959:6).

For families who are year-round residents the subsistence cycle is quite different. Those employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, the R.C.M.P. and the school have a predictable income (1959:6). The others hunt and trap within the vicinity of the settlement. Foxes are plentiful in this part of Hudson Bay and "this has no doubt been an important factor in attracting families to remain at the coast during the winter" (1959:6). A number of people are dependent on government relief and "quasi-relief" (1959:6) doled out by the missions. There is some opportunity for casual employment (e.g., construction). A few people work in other settlements in the summer but return for the winter (1959:7). When unskilled jobs are available they are often "delegated at the suggestion of the police, who arrange for the most destitute to receive the work" (1959:7). Such jobs confer no prestige and may be viewed negatively by other Eskimos. In 1957 a number of families totalling about 100 individuals moved to Rankin Inlet because their heads sought work in the nickel mine. They preferred "steady wage-work to the uncertainties of a subsistence trapping economy. It has been said that the best hunters and trappers were the ones to migrate" (1959:7). Other sources of income are family allowances, disability and old-age pensions, and relief (1959:7).

"The previously existing leadership complex has virtually disappeared" (1959:9) and this is attributable to the increased importance of fox trapping in the economy. The trader and R.C.M.P. have assumed many leadership functions. Whites tend to view Eskimo leadership capabilities negatively:

> The prevailing attitude among the persons of Western European descent ... is that the Eskimo are 'just like children' and they must be led and directed. It is felt that the Eskimos will shy away from facing any problems unless someone is firm with them. (1959:11)

For a settlement as small as Eskimo Point it is surprising how little social solidarity exists amongst the Eskimo population:

> ... there is very little to indicate that among the Eskimos there exists any social feelings of community cohesiveness. Instead it appears that there are small social segments composed of individuals who interact casually with one another. The most frequent contacts are among persons with like social and/or religious ties. (1959:8)

The missions compete for adherents and this has brought about what could be called "schismatic factionalism" (Beals and Siegel, 1960:399). In addition to Anglicans and Roman Catholics, there is a segment of the community that can be described as "non-Christians"; these are either "successful persons who are materially oriented and little interested in the spiritual value of Christianity, or else they are what have been called 'tea and tobacco natives'--i.e., they profess interest in whatever church doles out the most tea, tobacco and food" (1959:9). Both churches in Eskimo Point distribute food to their members and the technique is effective for gaining and holding adherents (1959:9).

Baker Lake

Baker Lake is situated in the E-2 Registration District. The settlement is located at 96°03' longitude and 64°18' latitude at the northeast corner of Baker Lake. The settlement serves as the administrative center for people living within 150 miles radius to the north,

west, and south of it. Roughly one-quarter of the Eskimo population in the region live at the settlement year-round (Vallee, 1967:1-2). The remaining three-quarters of the population live in some 20 land camps that are situated seven to 160 miles from Baker Lake. Mining exploration and prospecting have been carried out in the area since the 1930's (Vallee, 1967:8). Baker Lake is connected to the outside by radio-telephone, scheduled air service, and occasional visits by small freight boats (1967:10). Population as of 1959 was 368 Eskimos for the Baker Lake region (1967:10). There were 83 Eskimo households (1967:17). In recent years there has been a shift from the camps to the settlement: 45 percent of the people can be classed as "settlement" and 55 percent as "landward" (1967:18). The Eskimo population in and around Baker Lake is made up of five different sub-cultural groups: Quernermiut, Harvaqtormiut, Hauneqtomiut, Utkuhikhalingmiut, and Hailingnayokmiut.

> Each of these groups is a collection of bands ... who share a common dialect of the Eskimo language and certain other cultural features such as clothing designs, tatoo designs and styles of living. These groups are not tribes. (Vallee, 1967:21)

None of these groups had a political superstructure or clearly defined boundaries (1967:21). Cultural differences as traditionally defined are of diminishing significance--partly attributable to greater mobility and relocation schemes (1967:23). Only a few Eskimos are fluent in both Eskimo and English (1967:28).

In recent years there has been a decline in the importance of fox trapping which reached its lowest recorded yield in 1959 (1967:39). In recent years there has been less dependence on both trapping and caribou hunting and increased dependence on cash income derived from

wages and government allowances. Also, fishing has become more important (1967:40). At least some cash income is now necessary for subsistence. Fourteen Eskimo males and two Eskimo females are employed full-time by government agencies (1967:44). Eight males and eight females get casual employment as domestics, dog-team and canoe operators, and "chore boys" (1967:44). A large number of land-based Eskimos occasionally work as laborers (1967:44). Others would like to work in the settlement but are discouraged from doing so. "Recruitment policy is based not on demonstrable ability to carry out settlement jobs, but on character" (1967:45). To some extent, offspring of people who already live in the settlement are favored candidates for jobs. Vallee (1967:46) maintains that Eskimos filled all jobs where they had the qualifications. There is a problem of lack of sufficient employment opportunities which has and will increasingly necessitate out-migration.

Amongst land-based Eskimos, residence patterns are quite varied: three camps are patrilocal-extended, nine fraternal-joint, two brother-sister, sister-brother, three single households, and three camps are made up of unrelated families. Camps frequently shift in site and composition (1967:60-62). "Only relatives within a very limited range are regarded as effective kin" (1967:64). "There is a slight patrilineal bias among the Eskimos who live on the land" (1967:64). The elementary family is the basic unit of kinship (1967:64). There is a greater degree of cooperation in camps made up of related families. Even in the settlement, people often build their houses adjacent to relatives (1967:74). While paternal authority remains strong (1967:84), the elementary family is becoming more independent (1967:76).

While no systematic classification of the socio-cultural types

and groupings among modern Eskimo populations has been done, Vallee (1967:136) proposed a distinction between "people of the settlement" (Kabloonamiut) and "people of the land" (Nunamiut) as preliminary to such a classification. The Eskimos themselves recognize such a distinction. The important characteristics of Nunamiut are as follows: (1) "a desire to live on the land rather than in the settlement; (2) (they) choose a way of life that requires acute dependence on the land; (3) (they) choose to follow what traditional conventions still exist in the culture (living arrangements, child-rearing practices, etc.). In general, they are more oriented toward the traditional way of life" (1967:136). On the other hand, the Kabloonamiut "reveal a desire to live in the settlement; reject a way of life which requires acute dependence on the land; choose to follow certain Kabloona-like customs where they could just as well follow traditional ones (1967:137). Vallee says the classification is tentative. He further expands it to include two other groups: "Marginal Kabloonamiut" and "Marginal Nunamiut". The distribution of Eskimos who fall into these various categories is as follows:

	No. of Households	%
Kabloonamiut	11	14
Marginal Kabloonamiut	25	31
Marginal Nunamiut	18	22
Nunamiut	26	33
	n = 82	100%

(adapted in modified form from Vallee, 1967:138).

> The Kabloonamiut are of crucial significance in the process of acculturation which is going on.... They are Eskimos carrying the Euro-Canadian culture to the Nunamiut, in the sense that they are becoming stylistic and behavioral models; second, they are becoming key figures in the networks of

> interaction between the Kabloona and the Nunamiut. (Vallee, 1967:141)

Vallee (1967:141) stresses that the Kabloonamiut are "not simply regarded as the White Man's Eskimo" because they still possess the skills associated with the land. Kabloonamiut work for various government agencies and "are actively oriented toward the new way of life" (1967:143). They interact more frequently with Kabloona than with other Eskimos and can be said to form a "distinct stratum" (1967:144) within the community. Vallee (1967:144) maintains that "we are witnessing ... the emergence of a socioeconomic class system among the Eskimos of the Baker Lake region". It should be noted that there is no serious factionalism along religious lines. Ninety percent of the Eskimos are Anglican and the remaining ten percent Roman Catholic. "The Roman Catholics form a minority group in terms of social position as well as in terms of numbers--what Eskimo leadership there is is drawn from Anglican Kabloonamiut" (Vallee, 1967:179).

Until the Second World War there were only four to five Kabloona in Baker Lake (1967:25). This number has increased markedly since then. With the exception of mission and Hudson's Bay Company personnel, all Kabloona are connected with the various government agencies (1967:98). Agencies represented include the Department of Transport (total of twelve employees) which maintains the radio station (UHF), airstrip, and weather station. The D.O.T. does not primarily serve local interests. It employs three Eskimos full-time and more on a casual basis. There is also an R.C.M.P. detachment consisting of a constable, corporal and two Eskimo special constables (1967:100). The Department of Northern Affairs is mainly concerned with Eskimo relief,

health, technical assistance, and the maintenance of its installations (1967:102). There is a nursing station in the settlement operated by the Northern Health Service of the Department of National Health and Welfare. A Federal Day School was established in 1957. There were two teachers and sixty-one children enrolled in the 1958-9 school year. Standing at the apex of this fledgling Arctic bureaucracy is the Northern Service Officer who is "the Senior government representative in the community" (1967:101), though, as would be expected, "what this implies in precise terms is not made clear" (1967:101). Government agencies have tended toward specialization and diversification in recent years (1967:103). Vallee (1967:106) emphasizes that the Kabloona see themselves as playing the "role of socializer of the Eskimo". "The Kabloona are involved ... in a competitive system which has its locus outside the community" (1967:107). While there is no overt factionalism between competing government agencies, there is a certain amount of conflict and this weakens community solidarity (1967:108). The main source of conflict is the

> ... lack of a fixed hierarchy of goals; vagueness of function in certain offices; poor integration of functions both within a given office and between different offices; and the strain between the demands of the external system--e.g. rules and regulations laid down by headquarters--and the demands of the local community. (1967:117)

What are the characteristics of ethnic relations within the settlement? Vallee (1967:124) states that

> Relations between Kabloona and Eskimos in the Baker Lake region are marked by an absence of overt conflict, a diffuse friendliness, an informal segregation, considerable restraint, and control over

interaction on the part of the Kabloona.

The absence of overt conflict is partly attributable to the lack of competition over jobs between Kabloona and Eskimo.

Categorization of the total system of stratification in Baker Lake poses some problems:

> The informal pattern of segregation appears to be common throughout the Arctic, leading some authors to categorize the situation as one of caste rather than social class. When segregation is a formal rule, as it is, for instance, at Rankin Inlet where the mining company forbids its employees to visit the Eskimo village or attend Eskimo dances, the situation does have some of the characteristics of caste. Moreover, there are other features usually associated with caste generally found in Arctic communities, such as the feeling of superiority on the part of the Kabloona, the submissive demeanor of many Eskimos, residential segregation and so on. (Vallee, 1967:125)

But there are also many "patterns of interaction which would not be tolerated in a caste system" (1967:125)--informal social contacts, marriage across "racial" lines, etc. Employer-employee relations are often of a "patron-client" nature (1967:126). Vallee (1967:197) stresses that

> The role system in Baker Lake region accentuates the difference between the Kabloona and the Eskimos in terms of the distribution of power. No Eskimo is in a position to give orders to a Kabloona.... Hiring, firing, lending, giving, teaching, commanding ... are Kabloona prerogatives.

Rankin Inlet

Rankin Inlet is located on the west coast of Hudson Bay approximately 320 air miles north of Churchill, Manitoba (Dailey and

Dailey, 1961:vi). Until mining operations were commenced, Rankin Inlet supported a maximum of ten families who lived off the land through hunting, fishing and trapping. These families "identified themselves with the larger settlement at Chesterfield Inlet" (1961:4). The ore body was first discovered in 1928, and preliminary drilling was carried out in 1930 and 1936. In 1951-52 Rankin Inlet Nickel Mines, Limited assessed the extent of the ore body by means of magnetometer and electromagnetic surveys. A permanent mining camp was built in 1953. In 1954 the company was reorganized under the name of North Rankin Nickel Mines, Limited. The first ore was extracted in the spring of 1957. The mine closed in 1962 when the best part of the ore body had been exhausted and market factors made it uneconomic to continue. Mining at Rankin consists of two operations: recovery of nickel and small amounts of gold, copper, silver, and platinum and their reduction to concentrate form through crushing, grinding and chemical separation (1961:1). Construction began in 1953 but no Eskimo labor was used until the spring of 1956. Five or six Eskimos were initially employed; by the winter of the same year, there were fourteen Eskimo employees, by the following spring twenty, and by the end of the year seventy. At the peak of operations about eighty Eskimo men and several Eskimo women were employed (1961:4). The mine operates in two shifts, five or six days a week, and the mill in three shifts, seven days a week (1961:61).

Dailey and Dailey (1961:63) claim that "despite the dependence on wages to purchase food and clothing, there are still some remnants of the old hunting and fishing cycle remaining". Hunting and fishing are a source of food. Some sealing is done in fall and winter, intensified in the spring, and continued until summer break-up. Fishing is not an

important activity but is carried on in the summer months. "Trapping has been practically eliminated at Rankin Inlet" (Dailey and Dailey, 1961:65). There is a certain amount of absenteeism attributable to hunting (1961:78).

As far as employment at the mine is concerned

> There are roughly two categories of labour, skilled and unskilled. Most of the latter are included in the surface labour crew which numbers some 30 men. The average wage is 75¢ per hour. Also, it should be noted that when a man is placed in another position where utlimately he may increase his hourly wage, his on-the-job training rate remains 75¢ until in the opinion of the mine administration his proficiency has increased to warrant an increase. (1961:78)

Unskilled and semi-skilled positions filled by Eskimos include laborer, equipment operator, plumber's helper, carpenter's helper, oiler and greaser. The first men hired were placed in the surface labor crew and many of these advanced to more skilled jobs such as mucker, cage tender, and deckman (1961:79). A few men received preliminary training as drillers and others learned carpentry, steam fitting and plumbing. However, none work in the assay office, the store room, the administrative office, the engineering department, the power house, or the machine shop (1961:79). The mine attempted to justify low wages on the basis of fringe benefits which included medical care and for those earning less than $1.00 per hour, free noon meals (1961:80). (Eskimo workers are served separately in the "Eskimo cookery".) Wages ranged from 75¢ to $2.00 per hour. In addition there were several Eskimo salaried employees: a labor foreman ($300 per month), a staff house attendant ($175), and a watchman ($250). Also, four Eskimo women were employed in

the kitchen at $4.00 per day (1961:83).

The community consists of three settlements: two are occupied by Eskimo, and the third by white mining personnel, missionaries, Hudson's Bay Company employees and Northern Affairs staff. The entire community is constructed on mining company property (1961:5). One quarter-mile away from the white settlement is a company housing project for Eskimos which was built in 1957 (1961:10). These houses are rented to mine employees and rent ($30 per month) is deducted from their monthly wages (1961:14). In addition, there is an "old Eskimo settlement" consisting of several clusters of tents and shacks that belong to people who lived in Rankin Inlet before the mine opened (1961:14). Company housing is provided with electricity, but the mine extends no services to the old settlement.

> The families in these three zones represent strong in-groups. Most are kinsmen either in the broad sense of community identification such as being from Chesterfield Inlet or Eskimo Point, or the fact that they are actually related to one another through 'blood' or marriage. (1961:19)

The total Eskimo population in 1958 was 332 (1961:20). A large number of these people migrated to Rankin Inlet as employment opportunities in the mine increased. Dailey and Dailey (1961:20) give the following figures for place of origin: Chesterfield Inlet 224 (includes those who claim Rankin Inlet), Eskimo Point 79, Repulse Bay 19, and Baker Lake 11. Some seventy other people were moved to Rankin Inlet as part of the Keewatin Relocation Project (1958). This was necessitated by deteriorating conditions in the Garry Lake-Back River area, where a number of starvation camps were evacuated (Vallee, 1967:10, 50). A

"rehabilitation project" was set up and some of these people were later employed in the mine. These people, in some cases, had great difficulty adjusting to settlement life and, for the most part, were not accepted by the more highly acculturated Eskimo residents. The religious composition is as follows: eighty-five percent are affiliated with the Roman Catholic mission, ten percent are Anglican (there is no Anglican mission--Anglicans affiliate with the Continental Interior Mission (Pentecostal) which operated only for a brief period), and five percent "are not actively identified with either mission. Most of these are old people who presumably do not consider themselves Christians" (1961:23-4).

With respect to residence patterns in Rankin Inlet, the Eskimo population is about evenly divided between old and new settlements. In addition, a number of people live on the fringes of the townsite (1961: 22). The mine rewards those Eskimos for good work by allowing them to live in the new settlement. Married couples usually live with or near their close kin, "but which kin they live with is determined both by circumstances and inclination.... Residence is never rigidly defined" (1961:58). Seventy-three households are classed as neolocal and fourteen as bilocal. Descent is bilateral and there is considerable emphasis on the nuclear family (1961:34). Dailey and Dailey (1961:39) make some case for the existence of demes--definable territorial and political units, either exogamous or endogamous. "Most Eskimo settlements, even today, represent endogamous demes, of which, most, if not all, of its members are aware of their genetic, bilateral relationship" (1961:35).

> In communities such as Rankin Inlet where under a wage economy the members of several demes are of necessity brought together,

> they do not readily interact in their occupation, and even here the deme seems to act as a subtle kind of sorting device. Normally Chesterfield inlet people do not intermarry with Eskimo Point people, nor do they easily mix.... (1961:35)

The Daileys (1961:38) also suggest that there is some evidence of kindreds, "although they are very difficult to document".

The white population of Rankin Inlet numbers approximately ninety-five, most of whom are employed by the mine (1961:24). "Most of these are single men except for supervisory personnel who are permitted to have their wives with them if the housing situation permits. Of the 95, 85 are male; of these 72 are employed in the mine, 5 as "caterers", 1 by the Department of Northern Affairs, 3 by the Hudson's Bay Company, and 4 by the missions" (1961:29). In addition, a doctor and two nurses are employed by the hospital that the mine set up in 1959. Whites

> ... desire to avoid disrupting the life of the Eskimo.... The policy of the mining company is a highly protective one. Also the government seems to be under the impression that the Eskimo can be made a 'first-class citizen' and remain an 'Eskimo'. (1961:91)

Dailey and Dailey (1961:95) state that

> Most whites at Rankin Inlet have absolutely no idea of how the Eskimo lives. White personnel are forbidden to enter the Eskimo settlement without the permission of the superintendent, and any Eskimo woman who seems at all 'familiar' is warned by the mine.... Only mission personnel are permitted to visit Eskimos in their homes.... Eskimos never visit whites--except those women who work in white homes as domestics.... Eskimo and white neither eat together at the mine nor attend moving pictures in one another's company.

These patterns of segregation lead the Daileys (1961:95) to proclaim

that "There is clearly a form of caste system in operation here."

> A new personality in the Arctic is the white industrialist. At Rankin Inlet he is the mine superintendent. This individual represents a new kind of authority. His strength is derived from the necessity of maintaining a profitable business venture. He is supported in this by a national feeling of desire to see the north developed. This is Canada's future. At Rankin Inlet, the mine operates with the knowledge that this investment 'must' in so many words be a going concern.... The mine superintendent is an absolute authority.... (1961:93)

> Because of a policy of protectionism which the mine has adopted--and the government has not objected to--the Eskimos are being denied the opportunity to participate in the life of this community. Those Eskimo who are frugal, hard-working, punctual and cooperative, are, in the eyes of the mine 'desirable'. Those who do not readily adjust or who do not pay attention to orders, or who malinger, are rejected and forced to leave the community. (1961:94)

> There are no spokesmen among the Eskimos. The labour foreman at times indicates that he conceives of himself in this role, but for the most part his lot is not a happy one. He finds himself accepted neither by the whites nor the Eskimo. He uses the back door of the superintendent's home. (1961:96)

Company policy contains numerous rationalizations for their paternalistic posture and support of caste barriers and the mining company "has indicated (unofficially) they are unalterably opposed to any form of unionization of the Eskimo" (1961:96).

This chapter was intended to provide a summary of the essential features of social and economic organization in three Keewatin communities. In Chapter Three, the history of white-Eskimo contact will be briefly reviewed.

CHAPTER THREE

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF WHITE ROLES IN THE COLONIZATION OF THE KEEWATIN DISTRICT, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES: 1600-1960

It is my intention in this chapter to provide a brief outline of the history of white-Eskimo contact. It should be noted that the presentation of descriptive historical material has purposely been kept to a minimum.* The history of the Keewatin District has been summarized in tabular form for purposes of brevity. The emphasis rests on kinds of roles that whites have played in culture contact situations. No attempt is made in this chapter to analyze the effects of white contact on Eskimo social organization. This will be considered in detail in Chapters Four and Five.

Exploration of Hudson Bay and the District of Keewatin, N.W.T.

1600

1612 --Thomas Button: first European to visit Southampton Island (Van Stone, 1960:81).

1613-1631 --Henry Hudson discovers the Bay; Bylot, James, Foxe explore the Bay looking for a western outlet (Kimble and Good, 1955: 507).

1668 --Voyage of the Nonsuch to Hudson Bay.

1670 --"Charles II of England grants royal charter to The Governors and Company of adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay" (Kimble and Good, 1955:509).

1685 --Churchill established as the Hudson's Bay Company trading center--ships sent periodically from here up the coast of Hudson Bay (Van Stone and Oswalt, 1959:2).

1700

1713 --Hudson Bay ceded to England under Treaty of Utrecht (Bethune,

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*To date there is lacking a comprehensive history of Arctic Canada comparable in scope to such ethnohistorical writings as Spicer's Cycles of Conquest. There is no shortage of journalistic accounts, most of which are of marginal utility. Much of the historical material on the Arctic is still in unpublished form.

1935:11).

1741, 1746--Middleton and Moore discover Wager and Repulse Bays (Kimble and Good, 1955:509).

1756 --Hudson's Bay Company sloop trades with Eskimos at Whale Cove (Tyrrell, 1911:41).

1761 --Captain Christopher sent from Churchill to explore Chesterfield Inlet; later reached the head of Baker Lake (Tyrrell, 1911:41).

1764 --Magnus Johnson explores Rankin Inlet (Tyrrell, 1911:41).

1770 --Samuel Hearne travels overland from Churchill to Chesterfield Inlet, Dubawnt Lake to the Coppermine River (Kimble and Good, 1955:509).

1792 --Captain Duncan re-explores Chesterfield Inlet and makes a short trip up the Dubawnt River (Tyrrell, 1911:41).

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1800

1845-1848 --Sir John Franklin Expedition through Barrow Strait to King William Island to Mainland (Back River Area) (Kimble and Good, 1955:508).

1846 --Rae arrives at Repulse Bay.

1853 --Rae attempts to find shortcut to the Arctic Ocean via Chesterfield Inlet and Quoich River (Mathiassen, 1945:26).

1860 --First American whalers in Hudson Bay; some Aivilik Eskimos from Repulse Bay employed (Birket-Smith, 1929:32).

1870 --Imperial Order in Council transfers Rupert's Land and the North Western Territory to the Dominion of Canada (Bethune, 1935:11).

1870 --Culmination of whaling; declined after this date and very little remained after 1900 (Birket-Smith, 1929:33).

1878 --American Naval Lieutenant Schwatka explores Back River Area (Mathiassen, 1945:27).

1893 --J. B. Tyrrell of the Geological Survey explores upper Dubawnt River and Dubawnt Lake, Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet (Mathiassen, 1945:28).

1899 --Hanbury explores the Thelon River area (Mathiassen, 1945:29).

1900

1903 --Canadian Geological Survey re-examines the west coast of Hudson Bay under A. P. Low (Chesterfield Inlet, Wager Bay, Roe's Welcome Sound and Southampton Island) (Mathiassen, 1945:29).

Most of these early expeditions came into contact with various groups of Eskimos in different parts of the District of Keewatin. As

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*There is no historical data for the period 1793-1844.

far as can be discerned from explorers' journals and other historical sources, these contacts were sporadic. Some furs and Eskimo fur clothing were traded for European manufactured goods such as iron knives, kettles, pots and tools as well as tea and tobacco. But for the most part, Eskimos permitted the Europeans to survive by supplying them with food and shelter. Many of the expeditions were poorly equipped for Arctic winters and scurvy was often a problem. It was with great difficulty that Europeans adapted to this radically different environment.* After 1685 Eskimos would occasionally travel to Churchill to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. The fur trade was insignificant until after 1900. This contrasts sharply to southern Canada where by 1900 the beaver trade was rapidly declining. Whaling was important in the years 1860-1890 but at no point were many Eskimos employed by the whalers. A large inventory of new material cultural items were introduced and this had serious effects on indigenous technology. A number of Eskimos were hired to hunt caribou for the whaling crews. By this time guns were common and large numbers of caribou were taken. This undoubtedly contributed to the diminution of the caribou herds and had serious effects on the traditional Eskimo subsistence economy. The whalers introduced a number of disastrous epidemics along with venereal disease and whiskey.

One thing that deserves some comment is the great number of racist stereotypes of Eskimos contained in explorers' journals. Eskimos

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*In the Fur Trade in Canada Harold Innis describes a group of Hudson's Bay Company employees from the Orkney Islands who, emaciated and demoralized, refused to eat any native food while awaiting their annual spring shipment of hardtack, pilot biscuits, and salt pork from England.

were often described as barbarous, savage, ferocious, cruel, filthy, etc. It is easy to pass off these labels as merely a reflection of the inexperience of Europeans with "primitive" peoples. But it is much more meaningful to examine these stereotypes as the ideological rationale for the economic exploitation of Eskimos.

Summarized in the following table is the history of white-Eskimo contact from the early 1900's to the present (see pp. 32-36).

White Roles in Colonization

Margaret Lantis, in an article entitled "The Administration of Northern Peoples" (1966:115-117), lists several reasons for government support of "dependent peoples": "(i) to establish sovereignty over their land; (ii) to get labor for enterprises that need a labor pool ...; (iii) to get special skills or products that only these people can provide; (iv) to provide defense, military or non-military, perhaps only to occupy the territory with a friendly people, to prevent infiltration; and (v) to meet current welfare standards for humanitarian reasons." This is an adequate categorization of government and business activity in Northern Canada. But what were the kinds of roles that these contact agents played?

Fried (1964:56) states that "the earlier modern period ... produced an invasion of individualistic, tough-minded personalities, company employees or private entrepreneurs for whom the native populations were just another part of the landscape not worthy of attention, or were there to be used to further personal ends...." But more recently

> ... natives met urbanized, temperate man
> in the guise of administrator, technician,

HISTORY OF WHITE-ESKIMO CONTACT: 1900-1960

Baker Lake	Eskimo Point	Rankin Inlet	Comments
			1912--Trading post established at Chesterfield Inlet (Damas, 1963:21)
1913--Hudson's Bay Company Post established (Vallee, 1967:22)			
1916--R.C.M.P. detachment established at east end of Baker Lake Siemens, 1968)			1916--Hudson's Bay Company Post established at mouth of Kazan River (Siemens, 1968)
			1919--Serious famine in Lower Kazan River region (Birket-Smith, 1929:I:64)
			1922--Réveillion Frères post at Nueltin Lake (Birket-Smith, 1929:32)
1924--Réveillion Frères Post established--closed in 1936 (Siemens, 1968)	1924--Hudson's Bay Company Post established (Van Stone and Oswalt, 1959:2)		1921-24--Fifth Thule Expedition under Knud Rasmussen explores Repulse Bay, Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet, Wager Bay, Roes Welcome Sound and Southampton Island (Mathiassen, 1945:30)

Baker Lake	Eskimo Point	Rankin Inlet	Comments
	1926--Anglican Mission established (Van Stone and Oswalt, 1959:2)		
			1928--Department of Indian Affairs extends medical services into the eastern Arctic (Jenness, 1964:33)
1929--Permanent Anglican Mission established (Vallee, 1967:24)			
1930--R.C.M.P. detachment moved to Baker Lake settlement (Vallee, 1967:25)			1930's--Serious economic slump brought on by declining fur prices (Jenness, 1964:50)
1931--Roman Catholic Mission opens (Vallee, 1967:25)			1931--Railroad to Churchill completed (Glazebrook, 1964:192)
			1938--Roman Catholic Hospital set up at Chesterfield Inlet (Jenness, 1964:69)
1939-40--Mission-operated day school set up (Jenness, 1964:69)	1939-40--Mission-operated day school set up (Jenness, 1964:69)		

Baker Lake	Eskimo Point	Rankin Inlet	Comments
	1945--Diptheria epidemic--48 deaths (Jenness, 1964:87)		1945--Eskimo health now under jurisdiction of the Department of National Health and Welfare; family allowances destributed (Jenness, 1964:77)
1946-47--Royal Canadian Signal Corps Station set up; taken over by the Department of Transport in 1948 (Vallee, 1967:25)	1946-50--Continental Interior Mission (Pentecostal) operates		
			1948-49--Poliomyelitis epidemic in the Barren Lands--14 deaths + a number of cases of residual paralysis (Jenness, 1964:87)
			Low fur prices
1950--Nursing Station established by Northern Health Service of the Department of Northern Affairs			
		1953--Permanent mining camp constructed (Dailey and Dailey, 1961:1)	1953--Formation of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (Fried, 1964:57)

Baker Lake	Eskimo Point	Rankin Inlet	Comments
1956--Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development assigns departmental officer to take over administrative duties from R.C.M.P. (Siemens, 1968)		1956--First Eskimos hired by North Rankin Nickel Mines, Ltd. (Dailey & Dailey, 1961:4)	
1957--Federal Day School established (Vallee, 1967:151)		1957--Hudson's Bay Company store takes over company commissary (Dailey and Dailey, 1961:10) --Company housing project --Department of Northern Affairs school set up	
		1958--Anglican Mission built (Dailey and Dailey, 1961:23)	
		1958-59--Keewatin Relocation Project--70 Eskimos evacuated from Garry Lake & Back River areas to Rankin Inlet (Vallee, 1967:10)	

Baker Lake	Eskimo Point	Rankin Inlet	Comments
	1959--Northern Affairs School completed (Van Stone and Oswalt, 1959:2)		1959--Whale Cove settlement established (Vallee, 1967:53)
1960--Residents Association founded (Vallee, 1967:205)			
		1962--Nickel mine closes	

> teacher, nurse or social worker; new conveyors of goods and services whose behavior was without any precedent. Such government civil servants and employees ... are an entirely different breed of men from the rough, bush-trapper white or the transient transportation and construction worker of his previous experience, persons, who, though different, could be met on some common ground that permitted social interchanges.... (Fried, 1964:56)

Fried (1964:57) stresses that new Northern towns are essentially self-sufficient and insulated from the surrounding landscape and function as "specialized bases of operations for specialists who follow a southern, urban style of life...."

> ... new goods and services ... filter through a specialized group of foreigners, white agents who give and prescribe by a new set of mysterious standards. Objects are presented in novel packaging and acquired in novel ways. Things to eat or wear now come in cans or boxes. Pieces of paper, not guns or traps are the mediating tools by which they are acquired. (Fried, 1964:57)

Hughes (1965:27) has commented that since "only rarely has there arisen a functionally effective basis for and expression of village integration based on indigenous patterns ..."

> ... typically the trader, missionary, R.C.M.P., or more recently Northern Service Officer, or other representative of the white world, has assumed control and leadership functions. But his authority comes not just from filling a power vacuum in the absence of traditional structural forms. An important basis of his leadership is that he has power--access and control--with respect to many of the processes of importance to the community and its individual members in relating to the new environment. His basis of power is not subsistence or activity prestige; rather access and informational prestige. To him has been delegated from the outside

> culture the power of refusal or facilitation of credit, hospitalization, local medical help, relief payments in money or goods, trips outside for education or help of other types, of punishment, spiritual salvation--in other words, most of the range of needs in the new pattern of life that is developing.

One of the most important early "mediating agents" (Steward, 1967) of "Euro-Canadian culture" (Honigmann, 1965) was the fur trader.

Trader. Vallee (1967b:39) states that

> Over the generations there has crystallized a profound dependence of Eskimos on the Hudson's Bay Company, especially where the economy approached the one-crop type based on trapping where there was little or no competition from other traders.* In such circumstances the company controlled both consumption outlets and inlets, as well as the flow of credit. Dependence was even more profound where the post manager was munificent and extended credit in bad times and even to people classed as bad credit risks, for in such circumstances people were bound by ties of gratitude as well as of need.

Jenness (1964:41) maintains that because of the company's credit policies

> Some natives ... became the company's bond-slaves, indebted for more furs--but not actual money.

In addition, he notes (1964:12) that the Hudson's Bay Company "made no effort to introduce a dollars and cents economy among the new converts to

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*In the District of Keewatin there was a certain amount of competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and Réveillion Frères in the years 1924-36. Réveillion Frères also operated in other parts of the Arctic but succumbed during the depression and were bought out in much the same fashion as the rival North West Company had been in southern Canada much earlier. In addition, there were several free traders who operated briefly.

the trade, but it promoted a special barter system that used tokens instead of coins". Dunning (1959:120) comments on the changing role of the fur trader in recent years:

> Some of the older fur traders remember their superiors as fur traders who refused to sell merchandise to customers lacking furs to trade. The self-esteem of these men has declined as the position has become increasingly one of store-keeper rather than fur trade factor.
>
> Some of their observed behavior shows a misuse of their function. ... persons who prove amenable to the trader's leadership or domination (in some cases physical handling of the more passive men) are rewarded with occasional wage-labour around the post. Trappers who complain for any reason rarely receive any wage-rewards or marked-down merchandise.
>
> The trader is often the sole operator of a radio transmitter licensed by the Department of Transport for public use. Coincidentally the radio is "out" or the trader cannot "raise the sked" when an unpopular person wishes to send a paid message.*

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*There are numerous other alleged abuses. The Hudson's Bay Company has been accused of seizing family allowance cheques of its debtors. In some Arctic settlements the Company operates the post office and liquor outlet. In Rankin Inlet I was told by several whites of cases where the Company confiscated and destroyed copies of Eaton's and Simpsons-Sears mail-order catalogues (which most residents receive), in an effort to maintain price-fixing and monopoly. There is no case where the Hudson's Bay Company has been taken to court and convicted of such a practice. Another practice, freely admitted by Hudson's Bay Company employees, is the storage of furs in seasons when prices are low --and their re-sale often several years later when market conditions have improved. Of course, the trapper does not receive the benefit of the increased profits. This is not the case on the Labrador Coast where the Hudson's Bay Company no longer operates. Here stores are run by the Department of Northern Labrador Affairs of the Newfoundland government on an almost non-profit basis for the benefit of local residents. Locally-run cooperatives could eliminate this type of practice and direct more money to the trappers. But there are few Arctic cooperatives

Until the influx of government personnel in the 1950's, the trader, the missionary and the R.C.M.P. officer were the only whites in Northern settlements. The trader was most important for economic reasons. The roles of missionary and police officer were, of course, different, but it cannot be denied that in many ways they provided a certain amount of legitimation of the economic exploitation that was being carried out by trading companies. Outlined below are the contributions they made toward white colonization of the Arctic.

Missionary. Until the arrival of the R.C.M.P. and personnel from different government agencies, in many settlements the missionary was the only permanent white resident. In such cases the missionary was

> ... simultaneously the contact man of numerous agencies ... the essential link between Eskimos and the outside world. His (was) a position of considerable power in the community. The Eskimo-missionary non-symbiotic relations are of equally great importance. Casually, under the form of advice, the missionary is able daily to influence the ways of the people. (Balikci, 1964:51)

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so far.

Regarding access to radio transmitters, this is no longer much of a problem. The missions, R.C.M.P. and the Department of Northern Affairs usually operated their own radio-telephones. But in no case are communications facilities community-owned.

Even in the 1960's the Hudson's Bay Company has a virtual monopoly on northern commerce, particularly in settlements of less than 600 people. Only in the larger centers such as Frobisher Bay (2000), Inuvik (3000), Churchill (5000), and Yellowknife (5000) is there any competition. Competition is easily dealt with by the Hudson's Bay Company because its large volume of business permits drastic price-cutting if necessary. Only a few settlements have cooperatively-run stores. A romantic aura of adventure has continually surrounded the operations of "The Honorable Company". The glamor that has come to be associated with colonization of the Arctic has served well to disguise the economic exploitation that accompanied that colonization.

Missions were often provided with medical supplies by the federal government to be used when needed. "Because of the general decay of the shamanistic curative art and the great vulnerability of the Eskimos to epidemics produced by viruses ... the medical functions of the missionary have taken on great importance in the eyes of the natives. They are conscious that for medical treatment they are greatly dependent on the mission" (Balikci, 1964:50). In addition to functioning as an amateur medical practitioner the missionary often ran the village school and kept various types of records for the federal government. In times of famine it was often the missions that doled out relief. Another area in which missionaries have contributed to social and economic change has been the hiring of Eskimos for odd-jobs around the missions. In the rush to obtain converts it seems that the first thing the missionary was likely to do after setting up his mission and learning the language was to translate the Bible into Eskimo and proceed to train an Eskimo catechist. There are today some half-dozen different Eskimo Bibles in existence, and ecumenism is as serious a problem as further south. In many communities (Baker Lake, Rankin Inlet, and Eskimo Point among them) of less than 500 people there are two competing missions. The effect of mission competition for converts on community solidarity will be discussed at length later on.

Despite the fact that the missionary was often the sole white in a community, this did not prevent him from maintaining a good deal of social distance from the "natives" (as they are usually called). Dunning (1959:121) states that

> Judging from the attitude of some missionaries it is implicitly understood

> that, if an ethnic* person wishes to visit his home, he must go to the kitchen door. He would not be received socially in the living room. Furthermore a non-ethnic visitor takes precedence over all ethnic people. In order to conduct business the latter must stand aside and await the missionary's pleasure. This ethnic separation is made explicit by some missionaries who offer separate religious services in the community for non-ethnic leaders.

It should be emphasized, however, that individual style does vary quite a bit from mission to mission: "Some missionaries achieve a degree of solidarity and esteem by working, travelling with the people" (Dunning, 1959:121).

It was standard mission practice to encourage Eskimos to continue living on the land. Yet the establishment of missions contributed to urbanization later on. One final comment about missionaries' roles that should be mentioned is that they often carried out a good deal of amateur anthropological research in the course of their mission work. As would be expected, most of this research was in the areas of religion and linguistics. Some of it is of good quality but most of it is heavily clouded in religious and moralistic overtones.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The earliest function of the R.C.M.P. was simply to maintain occupation of the Arctic lest any foreign power challenge Canada's claims to the area. From detachments established in different parts of the Arctic patrols would be made regularly. The R.C.M.P., as the first government agency to operate in the North, quickly took over medical and administrative functions which

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*Dunning employs the term "ethnic" to mean Indian or Eskimo. "Non-ethnic", of course, means white.

the missions previously carried out. Law enforcement functions were of little importance until recently. It was and still is the policy of the R.C.M.P. to employ only married men in remote outposts--so as to eliminate any chances of liaisons with local women. When necessary, especially in larger centers, an "Eskimo special constable" would be hired as an assistant to act as a link between the R.C.M.P. and the local community. He would assist on patrols, work as an interpreter, and explain game laws and other ordinances to Eskimos. R.C.M.P. officers were usually stationed in an area for two years, in contrast to the missionaries who often stayed much longer. The individual style of the officer had important effect on his rapport with the community. Though it is hard to find any official policy statements, the R.C.M.P. are expected to maintain a fair degree of social distance from the community (e.g., their houses are usually built some distance away from the main settlement) and also act as a mediating agent of Canadian law to the local Eskimo population. Individual styles of law enforcement vary considerably and contribute to a certain amount of conflict when Eskimos are charged with various offenses under the Criminal Code and sent south for trial. R.C.M.P. officers are often paternalistic, using a variety of personal criteria when deciding, for example, which Eskimos are to receive relief rations. From the 1950's onward many of the duties carried out by the R.C.M.P. were taken over by other government agencies such as the Department of Northern Affairs. The role of the R.C.M.P. is now increasingly one of law enforcement. The changing responsibilities have caused some dissension and lowered morale in the force. It should also be noted that there is often more than a little conflict between the R.C.M.P. and some of the recently arrived government agencies.

Government Personnel: Nurses, Teachers, Administrators. As Eskimo health problems became increasingly serious (especially tuberculosis), the federal government realized that it was no longer adequate to delegate medical care responsibilities to the Hudson's Bay Company traders, the R.C.M.P. or the missions. As a result, a number of nursing stations were set up. At present, Baker Lake, Rankin Inlet and Eskimo Point all have nursing stations staffed with trained nurses and Eskimo nursing assistants. There are no resident doctors or dentists in these settlements. Patients needing more intensive treatment are sent to southern hospitals in Churchill, Edmonton and elsewhere. Apart from providing routine medical care, there is some effort made by nurses to implement public health programs in an attempt to cut down on the number of cases of infectious diseases. In addition, some instruction is occasionally given in what could be called home economics--planning meals with an adequate nutritional content, budgeting for food, and the like. But for the most part, nurses tend to remain aloof from the community. There is some conflict between what nurses consider as beneficial to health and traditional Eskimo attitudes towards cleanliness, etc. From my own experience at Rankin Inlet, I recall more than once nurses expressing disgust at "native" living conditions and habits.

Medical care available at the nursing stations is supplemented by annual visits by a government medical team which carries out chest x-rays, dental treatment and other work.

Until the late 1950's what schools existed in the Arctic were run by missionaries. The government was forced to take over mission-run schools because of the financial burden on the missions and the inadequacy of the schools. Most schools usually contain the first eight

grades. Those students who progress further are sent away to residential schools in Churchill or Yellowknife. Northern schools are beset by numerous problems, the most crucial being the lack of a locally-oriented curriculum (texts almost without exception are identical to those used in southern Canada), and resultant high failure rate and extremely high teacher turnover. Instruction is conducted exclusively in English and few teachers ever learn to speak Eskimo. Culture-shock for the teacher coming North to a small, isolated community is as serious as that experienced by Eskimo children being hauled off to school for the first time. A common complaint of teachers is the frequent absenteeism of students who go off hunting or fishing with their families for long periods during the school year.

Both teachers and nurses come under the supervision of different government departments: the former is responsible to the Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs, the latter to the Department of National Health and Welfare. Both these departments have their headquarters in Ottawa.

There are a number of other government agencies operating in each settlement (see Chapter Two).

> Into most Arctic communities ... they (the Department of Northern Affairs) sent a Northern Service Officer, as he was first called. At that time, most welfare was being administered by the police, and effective government of each settlement was the police, the missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company.... The type of person recruited as Northern Service Officer in the 1950's tended to be idealistic, ambitious, frequently idiosyncratic in personal behavior and creative.... The Northern Service Officers were a new type of missionary. They were concerned with helping Eskimos and building a better

> society. Many were gentlemen amateurs, and this seems to be a familiar type in both the British and Canadian government service. (Ferguson, 1968:6-7)

The Northern Service Officer is only one of a number of civil servants now present in many settlements. Dunning (1959:122) states that government administrators often hold a

> ... fairly general attitude of superiority with regard to the ethnic people, combined with a tendency to stereotype individual persons as "good" on the basis of their submission, or "bad" because of their independence or unwillingness to submit to authority.

Other contact agents of importance in the Arctic are the military (though not of great importance in the part of the District of Keewatin) and industrialists. While the mine operated in Rankin Inlet, the mine superintendent ruled the settlement in a manner analogous to a plantation owner (see Dailey and Dailey, 1961:93-94). As more and more people settle in new Northern towns, an already emerging petite bourgeoisie will become of greater importance. But for the most part, the only business activity in most settlements is carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company.

CHAPTER FOUR

CARIBOU ESKIMO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

To achieve an adequate understanding of social change in the District of Keewatin it is necessary to consider in detail the following: first, the nature of aboriginal Caribou Eskimo social organization; second, the known effects of early contacts (pre-fur); third, the effects of the fur trade; and fourth, the post-fur era.

Numerous definitions of social organization and social structure have been developed by anthropologists. For convenience and simplicity those of Morton Fried (The Evolution of Political Society, 1967) have been adopted. Fried (1967:8) defines "social organization" as

> ... the totality of patterned relations among the members of a society, the sub-groups formed in the course of these relations, and the relations among these groups and their component members.

"Social structure"

> ... relates to a more abstract level and comprises analytical models constructed from the data of social organization. It tends to convey the basic modal structures of the society and pays less attention to descriptive detail--and even less to variations or alternatives. (Fried, 1967:8-9)

Fried (1967:9) notes that there is "a tendency to confuse social structure and polity". He states that

> Political organization comprises those portions of social organization that specifically relate to the individuals or groups that manage the affairs of public policy or seek to control the appointment or action of those individuals or groups. (Fried, 1967:20-21)

As a start, it is safe to assume that Caribou Eskimo social organization had undergone considerable change long before the first systematic ethnographic work had been carried out in the District of Keewatin (Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24). From 1912 onward, the fur trade developed rapidly. The Reports provide an adequate description of social organization in the 1920's. However, it is unfortunate that the main concerns of the Fifth Thule Expedition were those of material culture and the diffusion of traits rather than social and economic organization. There has been only limited archaeological research in the District of Keewatin. Pioneering work was done by the Fifth Thule Expedition (Mathiassen, 1927). Since that time, the only available literature is that of Harp (1962) and Merbs and Irving (Borden, 1965). In addition, there is some work currently in progress. It is with this small amount of material that I attempt a speculative ethnographic reconstruction of pre-fur Caribou Eskimo social organization, a discussion which has important implications for evolutionary theory.

Steward (1955:101) states that "the Eskimo illustrate an essentially family level of integration".

> The family was the reproductive, economic, educational, political, and religious unit. It reared its children in comparative isolation, obtained its own food, and cared for its members at birth, sickness, death, and other crises. It made its own decisions on virtually all matters. Family dependence upon outsiders was rare and its patterns restricted. (Steward, 1955:54)

Service (1962:64) classifies Eskimo social organization as that of the "anomalous band". Though these two terms are synonymous, Steward and Service differ in their interpretations of causal factors favoring this

type of organization. Service (1962:65) prefers to use the term "anomalous band" because of the possibility that Eskimos at one time had a band organization, "with fragmentation a result of modern influence". On the other hand, Steward's explanation is essentially a cultural-ecological one: that because of meager food resources and the particular exploitative patterns necessary to tap them, fragmentation necessitated a type of social organization more flexible than the patrilineal band. In other words, Steward believes there is a simpler level of socio-cultural integration than the patrilineal band, while Service believes that the patrilocal band is the most fundamental kind of social organization (except in cases where a group of people has been pushed into a marginal area, as in the case of the Shoshoni). Both Steward and Service employ the term "composite band" in their respective evolutionary typologies. Again, opinions as to causal factors differ. Steward (1955:149-50) maintains that composite bands exist where "(1) the chief food was game which occurred in large herds; or (2) if certain social practices temporarily introduced unrelated families into the patrilineal band". There are two problems with this view. First, hunting of large herds would necessitate some degree of cooperation on a large scale--a greater degree of cohesiveness and more highly developed leadership (even if informal and temporary) than that of the composite band would be expected;* and second, it seems unlikely that unrelated

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*Steward's view is completely different: "The large game herds made social aggregates of several hundred persons possible. In bands of this size, knowledge of relationship between band members was lost after several generations, and band endogamy may have been practiced" (1955:150). If anything, given such a case, a more complex type of organization--perhaps the "tribe" (Service's tribe or Fried's "ranked society")--would be better suited structurally to this ecology.

families would be introduced into the patrilineal band--unless material (i.e., economic) factors affected the viability of the patrilineal band organization. But the causes of unrelated families being introduced into the patrilineal band are definitely non-economic ("adoption of children between bands", "the remoteness of bands into which to marry", "matrilocal residence because of a shortage of men", "desire to secure assistance of the wife's family in child-rearing", and "lack of a woman to exchange with the wife's band in marriage" (Steward, 1955:150).

Service's usage of the term "composite band" was quite different. With regard to Eskimo social organization, he says that

> Except for certain Alaskan groups which have patrilineal (patrilocal?) lineages and cross-cousin marriages (Hughes, 1958), the Eskimo have in historic times been described as remarkably alike in their fluid, open communities which lack territorial exogamy and associated rules of marital residence. The individual nuclear households are the basic economic units, and as they move with the seasons to various hunting and fishing grounds they may peacefully join others in any of those places, whether they are related or not. That is, any villages or camp units are composite.
>
> Because the lack of local exogamy and rules or customs of unilocal residence leaves a nuclear household with only ephemeral social relations with others, the kinship terminology normally separates the persons of the nuclear family from all other relatives except parents' siblings. The other relatives in turn are differentiated merely by sex and generation.
>
> The question of whether this was the aboriginal Eskimo organization is a difficult one. There are no 'survivals' in the usual kinship terminology (unless in Alaska) that point to a different earlier organization; hence either that

> organization was the same as the one today, or the changes occurred so long ago that a complete functional reorganization was possible. The first suspicion is that the present compositeness of Eskimo society was caused by depopulation and other disruptions and catastrophes contingent upon the coming of Europeans, simply because we have seen these as causes of the composite band in other areas. (1962: 99-100)

Service concludes (1962:107) after presenting historical material on the Mackenzie Delta, the Central Arctic (Copper Eskimo), and Greenland that

> It seems clearly evident that aboriginal Eskimo society was not fluid, informal and composite, nor was it a 'family level' of integration caused by the nature of the game hunted. The later composite groups of unrelated Eskimo known to modern ethnology are readily explained as a consequence of direct and indirect European influences....

In brief, to recapitulate, Steward's composite band is an evolutionary phenomenon, while Service's composite band is a devolutionary phenomenon. I side with Service and will attempt to show below that his interpretation is equally applicable to Caribou Eskimo social organization.

Culture History of the Barren Grounds

Harp (1962) has developed a chronology of the Barren Grounds based partly on work he carried out in 1958. The area west of Baker Lake into the Barren Grounds on a 300 mile circuit up the Thelon River to Beverly Lake and out again was surveyed. He emphasizes that "the comparative absence of middens and organic materials except in the most recent sites, suggests a low numerical level of population and nomadic subsistence patterns" (1962:69). The fact that all sites were found near caribou crossings points to a dependence on the exploitation of

caribou herds (Harp, 1962:69). Summarized below are the different phases of occupation of the Barren Grounds.

Phase 1: "Early Indian hunters adapted primarily to the transitional forest zone, but equipped for summer caribou hunting on the tundra. Beginning sometime after 3000 B.C., discontinuous and sporadic in nature, and possibly, in later stages, coexisting with Phase 3 ..." (1962:71).

Phase 2: "Pre-Dorset Eskimo culture, derived from the central Arctic. Oriented here to the seasonal hunting of caribou, as one aspect of a dual economy. Estimated to have entered the country around 1000 B.C., and believed to have occupied it sporadically for several centuries ..." (1962:72).

Phase 3: "Archaic stage Indian hunters. Derived from the same basic interior tradition as Phase 1, and possibly evolved from it and other contemporaneous expressions. Also a seasonal occupation of the Thelon country, estimated by virtue of its external relationships to have occurred sporadically during the first millennium A.D. ..." (1962:72).

Phase 4: "Thule Eskimo culture. A seasonal expression of their dual Eskimo economy, drawn to central Keewatin via Chesterfield Inlet for fall caribou hunting and possibly also for wood-gathering on the middle Thelon Lakes. Can be dated approximately from A.D. 1200-1400 ..." (1962:73).

Phase 5: "Caribou Eskimo culture. Represented by meager finds that are recent, or, at best, protohistoric. The material content of this culture, as described by Birket-Smith, was borne out in our investigation, but it has no great archaeological depth.... The Caribou Eskimos derived from the bands of Thule people who gradually turned for increased subsistence to the rich and proven food resources of the Barren Ground herds. As they placed added emphasis on the interior aspect of their economy they would naturally have reverted more to inland hunting practices and gradually sloughed off unneeded coastal traits" (1962:74).

Harp (1962:74) stresses strongly that "the Barren Grounds have always been a marginal area, and never the center of any significant cultural developments". Harp's views regarding the origin of Caribou Eskimo culture are at variance with those of Birket-Smith. Birket-Smith (1929: II:5-7) believes that ruins of permanent winter houses at Chesterfield Inlet and Eskimo Point suggest that at one time there lived Eskimos at

the coast with a culture other than that of Caribou Eskimos. He states that "the Caribou Eskimo culture proper is connected with the interior ... (and) ... at any rate no directly visible connection leads from a coast life to existence in the interior" (1921:II:42). Rather than there being any migration from the coast to the interior, evidence points in the opposite direction--from the interior to the coast. Birket-Smith (1929:II:129) concludes that since "we still have on the Barren Grounds an inland people like the Caribou Eskimos, the obvious conclusion is that they form the last survival of the group which, simultaneously with the decline of the Thule culture, made its way out to the sea. He further states that "the culture of the Caribou Eskimos, not only in relation to Eskimo culture but also in relation to the circumpolar culture region as a whole, has an extremely ancient stamp" (Birket-Smith, 1929:II:210).

Birket-Smith's conclusions seem more tenable in view of the fact that "none of the coast Eskimos know anything of whaling today" (1924) (Birket-Smith, 1929:II:11). Informant recall would date back before the time when American whalers had any significant effects on the marine ecology of Hudson Bay. The tool kit of present-day coast Eskimos is primarily an inland one. Snow houses and tents (until very recently) were the only types of shelter used by these people. The semi-subterranean sod and whalebone houses date back to the earlier Thule (whale-hunting) culture of the coast (Mathiassen, 1929:II:132).

The conclusions I have drawn here should be regarded as tentative. Radiocarbon dating did not exist at the time of the Fifth Thule Expedition and also, Harp does not mention any radiocarbon dates of sites he explored in 1958. Further archaeological work currently in

progress in this area of the Arctic will hopefully shed more light on this problem.

Working then from the tentative conclusions that have been drawn above--that Caribou Eskimo culture is a relatively old inland adaptation--what can be said about social organization?

The first matter to be considered is whether Caribou Eskimos at one time had a patrilocal band organization. Contemporary Caribou Eskimos exhibit few, if any, characteristics of the patrilocal band. The most significant features--reciprocal band exogamy and virilocal marital residence--are absent. As Service has mentioned, there are no kinship 'survivals' indicative of, for example, cross-cousin marriage. If anything, there is much evidence to the contrary: endogamous demes structured according to dialect-group affiliation, bilateral kinship terminology, and lack of any well-defined marital residence rules. However, these features of contemporary social organization apply only to the settlements. They are almost totally irrelevant when one considers aboriginal social organization. It should also be noted that contemporary camp Eskimos have not been well studied in this part of the Arctic. Thus, the possibility of a patrilocal band organization cannot yet be dismissed.

Shifting the frame of reference around, let us examine some of the functional reasons that would permit the patrilocal band to exist. Service (1962:67) states that

> It is apparent from mere inspection of the list of patrilocal bands with their great variety of natural environmental conditions that virilocal residence modes are not caused by any particular kind of habitat or source of food. The argument was made in the previous chapter that

> virilocality is expectable in exogamous band society because of the importance of the solidarity of males in hunting, sharing game, and particularly in offense-defense.

With specific reference to aboriginal Caribou Eskimo economy, we can be sure, working with the aforementioned archaeological evidence, that the most important single source of food was the caribou. Fishing was minor and seasonal, trapping of any kind non-existent. Given the stone and bone Eskimo technology, several things would seem necessary to assure an adequate kill of the migratory caribou: first, a knowledge of the migratory habits of the caribou--this entails some stability of residence--and would permit less nomadism than is often depicted in the ethnographic literature; and second, some degree of cooperation between household heads during the caribou hunt when the animals are pursued in kayaks in the water and on land by driving them into ambush (see Balikci, 1964). These practices were no longer necessary after the introduction of the rifle which greatly individualized hunting. This should adequately account for Service's "solidarity of the males in hunting".

There is also a good deal of support for the second ecological reason for the existence of the patrilocal band, the requirements of "offense-defense". Contrary to popular opinion, Eskimos were never quite the pacifists they are often made out to be. Historical sources such as Tyrrell (1911) mention sporadic skirmishing (warfare would not be an appropriate term) between Caribou Eskimos and Chipewyan Indians on the Barren Grounds, attributable to competition for the same basic resources--caribou. While conflicts were never very long--because of the limitations a hunting economy imposes on protracted campaigns--it is

reasonable to assume that a more structured arrangement than either the composite band or the family level would be necessary. On the other hand, one must consider whether Eskimo-Chipewyan hostilities had any effect on breaking down Caribou Eskimo band organization. What little evidence there is seems negative because casualties were never very numerous.

When discussing band organization, it must be stressed that

> ... for a band to be a band the people do not have to be closely, physically associated as a face-to-face residential group at all times, or even much of the time. (Service, 1962:71)

With specific reference to Caribou Eskimos, the band was adequately organized to facilitate various institutionalized patterns of cooperation in hunting and sharing, but at the same time flexible enough to permit dispersion in cases, for example, when there was an extreme shortage of food.

This, then, is the picture, albeit tentative, of Caribou Eskimo social organization up to the time of contact with commercial whaling in the mid-nineteenth century. Regardless of the precise nature of band organization until this time, we do know that whaling, both directly and indirectly, had severe disruptive effects on Eskimo society. These effects were as follows: the introduction of diseases and epidemics for which Eskimos had no immunity and the widespread use of rifles for hunting. While there are no epidemiological statistics available for the 1800's, it is known from later epidemics that population losses were often severe (see Jenness, 1964:87). This factor alone would lead to band fragmentation and eventual amalgamation of band-remnants into composite bands. It is not known when rifles were first

introduced into the District of Keewatin, but once the whaling trade became important (by 1860) rifles were in general use. The introduction of the rifle had two effects: first, it individualized hunting techniques; and second, it made possible a greater kill per hunter. Thus, technological change alone could have precipitated the destruction of aboriginal band organization. Caribou Eskimos participated in large-scale hunting of caribou to supply the whaling crews with food. This eventually contributed to the diminution of the caribou herds--though other factors were important as well. The Caribou Eskimo hunting economy declined rapidly from this time on. Some trapping for fox was now being carried on, though not to the extent that it would be in the early twentieth century with the coming of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the years 1850-1910 it is appropriate to label the Eskimo economy as mixed hunting-trapping, or, in the words of Murphy and Steward (1956: 348), at the level of "marginal involvement" in the fur trade: trapping was still secondary to subsistence hunting. Subsistence was becoming precarious, but, in view of the changes discussed above, it was impossible to return to the earlier hunting stage. In Jenness' (1964: 14-15) words,

> The whalers who had accompanied or followed up the early nineteenth century explorers had killed off most of the whales of Canada's Eastern and Western Arctic, had unconcernedly decimated the Eskimo inhabitants of both regions, and had destroyed their independence by replacing with manufactured goods the tools and weapons, the stone cooking vessels and the skin boats that they could make from local materials. Now at the century's end, having shattered the aboriginal economy, the whalers were departing, and the Eskimos, no longer possessing their ancient skills or food

> resources, had to build up their economy on a new base or perish. Fortunately, in this hour of crisis, trapping offered them the needed economic base; for in a rapidly industrializing world, fine furs had ceased to be the prerogative of the increasing numbers of rich people, and were steadily growing in favor among the middle and lower classes also.

Trapping was not quite the unmitigated blessing that Jenness made it out to be, but at least temporarily, it did provide a stronger economic base. In any case, what must be stressed repeatedly, is that the Eskimos who entered into commercial fox trapping were in no way "aboriginals". Substantial economic, social, and cultural change had occurred before the fur trade became important. The most important changes were the techno-economic changes stimulated by the whaling trade and resultant social organizational change--i.e., the demise of the patrilocal band.

The Fur Trade and Caribou Eskimo Social Organization Circa 1920

Summarized below are the characteristics of Caribou Eskimo social organization as described by K. Birket-Smith of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24.

Birket-Smith (1929:I:59) stressed repeatedly how inappropriate the term 'tribe' was when applied to Caribou Eskimos:

> In a political sense there are no tribes among the Eskimo, but there are certain local bands which regard themselves, and are so regarded by others, as a sort of unit, and it is these which in the ethnographic literature appear as 'tribes'.

The several local bands of Caribou Eskimos are the Qaenermiut ("dwellers of the flat land behind Rankin Inlet"), Hauneqtormiut ("dwellers where the bones abound"--north of Ferguson River), Harvaqtormiut ("where the

rapids abound"--lower Kazan River), and the Padlimiut, who inhabit the country north of Churchill to Rankin Inlet (Birket-Smith, 1929:I:60-64). There are several important characteristics of these local bands: their composition is fluid, many areas are likely to be uninhabited, and the occupation of an area can shift. Birket-Smith (1929:I:68) states that in 1923 the total number of Caribou Eskimos in the Barren Grounds was from 432 to 467.* He believes that earlier on, judging from the estimates of Turquetil and Tyrrell, that the population may have numbered as many as 600:

> One of the principal causes of its decline is the terrible periods of famine which have ravaged the country. One of the worst is said to have been the winter of 1919.... The Hudson's Bay Company employees believe that at least 100 people perished that winter.

Birket-Smith (1929:I:134) attributes periodic famines to two factors: the introduction of the rifle, and "intensive fox trapping which makes the Eskimos entirely dependent on the shop". A government census conducted by the old Department of the Interior in 1927 (Kitto, 1930:103) lists the total Eskimo population on the West Coast of Hudson Bay as 625. This includes 125 people in the Eskimo Point area, 100 in Chesterfield Inlet, 200 at the head of Baker Lake, 200 inland along the Kazan River, 40 at the head of Wager Bay, 70 at Repulse Bay, and 70 at Churchill, Manitoba. The areas of Wager Bay and Repulse Bay are not considered Caribou Eskimo territory and thus were not included in Birket-Smith's census. However, it is not clear whether Birket-Smith

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*The variation in the above estimate is attributable to the difficulties of conducting an accurate census among bands whose composition is fluid.

included Churchill. Thus Kitto's estimate is from 445 to 515 Barren-Ground Eskimos, depending on whether or not Churchill is included. In any case, the differences between these two estimates are not that significant:

> At the most 500 people, spread over an area as large as that we are now dealing with, gives an exceedingly thin population. ... if we take the territory that is more or less regularly inhabited in connection with hunting, we arrive, as quite a rough result, at about 185,000 sq. km. which serve as home for 437 people. This gives a population density of about one person to about 365 sq. km.... (Birket-Smith, 1929:I:68-9)*

The Caribou Eskimo seasonal economic cycle and accompanying settlement patterns is as follows:

> ... habitation is most permanent and concentrated in the autumn, when the camps of the Eskimos lie near to the crossing places of the caribou, and in winter, when they only reluctantly journey away from the autumn meat caches and at any rate keep close to the lakes, where there is a chance of fishing.... Still, even at this time of year it is not an uncommon occurrence that a family breaks camp and moves out alone to a place where it believes that hunting prospects are better. ... In summer, conditions lead to a more scattered existence in the interior,

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*When converted to square miles, this would mean a population density ranging from 141 sq. mi. per person to 152 sq. mi. per person. Steward (1955:135) states that patrilineal bands are characterized by "a population density of one person or less--usually much less--per square mile". In a sample of patrilineal band hunting and gathering societies from around the world (Steward, 1955:140) the average number of persons per square mile ranges from 1/15 to 1--i.e., from 1 sq. mi. per person to 15 sq. mi. per person. For composite bands, the range is from 1/3 to 1/35 persons per sq. mi. Without doubt, the area inhabited by Caribou Eskimos is characterized by one of the lowest population densities known. However, I stress again, we are not talking about aboriginal conditions.

> whereas the Eskimos who move to the coast collect at a few places where there is good walrus and seal hunting. (Birket-Smith, 1929:I:71)

Birket-Smith's explanation of the fluidity of band organization no doubt sounds somewhat dated in the light of current theory:

> ... it may be said that at all seasons there is a tendency to flock together. The gregarious instinct is strong among the Eskimos, primitive people on the whole being reluctant to face nature or the rest of society alone. It is not always, however, that nature allows them to obey the instinct, whereby we see the inconstancy that one family moves into a settlement whereas another moves from it, and a month later perhaps the place is deserted for miles around. (1929:I:71)

Translated into more modern parlance, it can simply be said that ecological factors such as the seasonal migrations of caribou, conditions of the sea ice and the spawning season of fish necessitated such a flexible pattern.

Camps tended to be small. Birket-Smith (1929:I:74) gives the following figures:

Winter of 1921-22 (Quaenermiut): 8, 12, 11, 22, 3, 24, 12; average size: 14.5.

Spring 1922 (Harvaqtormiut): 17, 13, 15, 18, 5, 6; average size: 12.3.

Spring 1922 (Padlimiut): 9, 12, 7, 46, 8, 13; average size: 15.5.

Summer 1923 (Coast Padlimiut): 44, 39, 18, 7; average size: 27.0.

The smallest socio-economic unit is the family, the largest the camp (Birket-Smith, 1929:I:98). There are no age-grades (258). Kinship was bilateral (295). Birket-Smith (295) was highly critical of the then prevalent view that Eskimos had a "patriarchal organization". Leadership was informal. Thus, there were many similarities with the

family hunting band of the Algonkians further south.

> ... an elderly skilful hunter with great experience always enjoys great esteem as primus inter pares. When a number of families are gathered in a camp, there is often an elderly pater familias who is tacitly looked upon as (ihumatak), i.e.: he who thinks, implying: for the others. His advice is often taken, but voluntarily; he has no legal authority at all and cannot be called a chief in the ordinary sense. Ordinarily, only the shamans have stood out from among the mass, but, be it noticed, without actually enjoying any great respect for that reason. A clever shaman may possess great power because he is clever and feared, not actually because he is a shaman. And a poor shaman never attains the same level as regards respect as an ordinary skilful hunter. (Birket-Smith, 1929:I:259)

To arrive at an adequate categorization of Caribou Eskimo leadership we must

> ... rid our Western conception of leadership and authority of its formalistic and cultural bias ... (and) define them in cross-culturally applicable terms by equating them with an individual or subgroup which causes the majority of the members of the group to conform to his or her decisions. This is a functional definition which defines authority by its effect upon the followers (social control) rather than by formalistic criteria particular to our own culture (e.g., existence of courts, physical sanctions, police force, etc.). (Pospisil, 1964:418)

Because leadership was so informal and band organization so loose--lacking any corporate descent groups and sodalities--the fur trader assumed many leadership functions once trapping became important. Economic interdependencies shifted from the band to the trader. Winter provisions had to be purchased since trapping allowed little time for hunting game. The nuclear family was strengthened as the basic economic

unit. Modern technology together with the pursuit of trapping individualized economic activities and contributed to the breakdown of traditional patterns of cooperation and sharing. However, in contrast to the Algonkians further south, family hunting territories never developed amongst Eskimos (see Balikci, 1964:77). In addition to serving as a source of food supplies, material goods and ammunition, the trader also provided medical care and occasionally hired trappers to do odd jobs around the trading post. Economic transactions were between individual trappers and the trader, not between the band and the trader. Trapper-trader relations had two important effects on Eskimo social and economic organization: first, they accelerated the breakdown of band organization, and second, they contributed to the first beginnings of present-day settlements in the Arctic. Trapping literally transformed Eskimo society.

> Trapping had become a vital necessity to their generation (second decade of the twentieth century); for whereas the early whalers required little but labour in payment for their goods, the traders demanded furs, particularly fox furs, which had been valueless in the aboriginal economy. So from November until March most Eskimos abandoned the hunting of seals ... renounced the comfort and support of their relatives and friends and the amenities of village life, and spent their days in the solitude and isolation of their individual trapping cabins and tents. It was sheer economic need that drove them into this new occupation, an occupation that was changing the whole pattern of their lives. (Jenness, 1964:25)

The changes that trapping wrought were irreversible.

> These products (i.e., furs for trade) did not achieve importance until the native populations became parts of larger socio-cultural systems and began to produce for

outside markets in a mercantilist pattern.

> The process of gradual shift from a subsistence economy to dependence upon trade is evidently irreversible, provided access to trade goods is maintained. It can be said therefore, that the aboriginal culture is destined to be replaced by a new type which reaches its culmination when the responsible processes have run their course. The culmination point may be said to have been reached when the amount of activity devoted to production for trade grows to such an extent that it interferes with the aboriginal subsistence cycle and associated social organization and makes their continuance impossible. (Murphy and Steward, 1956:336)

From the 1930's on fur prices were subject to extreme fluctuation. Incidences of starvation and begging for relief at trading posts increased. Sporadic reports were received in southern Canada but the government was too preoccupied with the depression to be concerned about Eskimo problems (Jenness, 1964:16, 53). Government policy, as evidenced by two statements presented below, showed little realization of what was happening, and even less awareness of future prospects for Eskimos:

> ... from the standpoint of native health it is highly undesirable to introduce houses into the north. The native occupation is hunting and trapping: in both cases it is a nomad existence from one hunting ground to another. If you accustom the native to live in a house or shack he loses the hunter's spirit, which is the lifeblood of his race. (Binney, 1929);

> While the Eskimos need never be unemployed, they are indirectly affected by any situation in the outside world which raises or lowers the price of pelts. In addition, the bad fur years which occur at more or less regular intervals increase the difficulty for the native hunter of maintaining himself and his family. Besides this, casualties are suffered by

> heads of households, so that provision has had to be made for the issue of relief to prevent undue hardship.
>
> The Northwest Territories Council recently reviewed the whole question of relief distribution, and recommended to the Minister of the Interior--with a view to the centralization, where possible, in each district of the authority of granting relief--that where there was a medical officer he be in charge, and where there was no medical officer the non-commissioned officer in charge of the local Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment be empowered to authorize the issue of relief (or if neither were there, the trading post manager ...).
>
> Wherever possible relief is to be issued in the form of ammunition so that the natives will be encouraged to get out and shift for themselves, which they are quite willing to do--incidentally obtaining the type of food which experience has proven best for them. (Bethune, 1935:57)

These two statements are representative of government laissez-faire during this period of Eskimo administration. The belief was common (aided in no small way by the contemporary ethnography of Weyer, Rasmussen, Freuchen and numerous journalistic accounts by traders, missionaries, and travellers) that Eskimos were simply noble savages who had been corrupted by Western technology and that they must be protected from any further intrusions of civilization and its evils. Such concerns, however, did not include the two most important intrusive influences: the Hudson's Bay Company and the missions. The "Honourable Company" as it was often referred to, could continue to exploit the native while the missions provided the ideological justification for such exploitation (the "Civilizing Mission", etc.). But try to find the word "exploitation" written in anything about the Arctic to this time!

Government laissez-faire could not continue indefinitely. As the "Eskimo problem" (like the "Indian problem" and the "Negro problem") received more and more publicity that proved embarrassing to the government (starving Eskimos in the country with the second highest standard of living in the world), there was an increasing realization that something had to be done. The fur trade continued to decline through the 1940's but it was not until after World War II that any noticeable shifts in government policy occurred. As the fur trade declined, more and more Eskimos began to cluster around trading posts and R.C.M.P. detachments to receive relief. The indigenous population of the Arctic became increasingly centralized and the early stages of Arctic urbanization were under way. In the late 1940's and early 1950's Eskimo social organization could only be described as totally unorganized. In this manner, Eskimos entered the post-fur, urban era, which will be fully discussed in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

COLONIALISM, SOCIAL CHANGE AND EMERGENT PATTERNS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

In Chapters One through Four the history of Eskimo-white relations and resultant changes in Eskimo social organization were discussed. Toward the end of the fur trade era Caribou Eskimo social organization was that of the composite band level of socio-cultural integration, leadership was weak, and the trapping economy in a state of decline. Not until after World War II did noticeable changes in government policy occur. The Cold War resulted in the construction of the Distant Early Warning Line (D.E.W. Line). Until the 1950's there was little significant military activity in the Canadian Arctic, with the exception of the Crimson Air Staging Route over which fighter aircraft were ferried to Europe.

The construction of D.E.W. Line radar stations created a substantial demand for labor. Skilled personnel were imported from Canada and the United States. Control over hiring was monopolized by a few large corporations, the most important being Federal Electric, an American-based company. While there was no alternative but to import skilled labor, it was, however, too expensive to import unskilled labor. Both military and civilian contractors quickly realized that there existed an easily exploitable, unskilled labor force in the Arctic--the indigenous Eskimo--who could be paid low wages without fringe benefits without any worry of union organizers.

Only a few Keewatin Eskimos were employed on the D.E.W. Line. Most of the stations were further north in areas such as Cambridge Bay,

Repulse Bay and Baffin Island. Eskimos were employed initially as unskilled laborers but soon acquired knowledge of skilled trades such as carpentry, electrical work and the operation of heavy equipment. As far as can be discerned from the available literature, no Eskimos received their certification papers in any skilled trade.

Since the hunting and trapping economy was on the verge of complete collapse in many, though not all, Arctic settlements, any available source of cash was welcome (only the white man was sentimental about Eskimos leaving the land, and of course, any noble savage stereotype, by definition, precludes consideration of objective economic conditions). Caribou Eskimo economic problems had come to the attention of the Canadian government after the publication of Farley Mowat's People of the Deer (1948) and The Desperate People (1959)--semi-fictional journalistic accounts of the Keewatin area starvation camps. Reports had been received from missionaries and R.C.M.P. officers as well, but were largely ignored. However, Mowat's works created such a public outcry that they could not be suppressed. Despite the fact that the D.E.W. Line did not greatly affect the population of the Keewatin District, it did mark the beginning of a new era of Northern development or underdevelopment (depending on one's perspective). The construction of the D.E.W. Line conclusively demonstrated the potential of air freighting--even with relatively small aircraft such as the DC-3, DC-4, and DC-6--aircraft which were modern in 1953 but obsolete today. The experience gained from the D.E.W. Line has contributed greatly to oil and mineral exploration presently being carried out in the Arctic. There were numerous other benefits; for example, experience gained from the construction of housing and facilities in extreme cold climates. But

most of what was learned from the D.E.W. Line was of little benefit to the indigenous inhabitants of the Arctic.

In addition to the D.E.W. Line, other equally significant changes were taking place. Specifically, in the District of Keewatin, the opening of the nickel mine in Rankin Inlet was the most important. The mine, like the D.E.W. Line, temporarily opened up employment opportunities for Eskimos and provided an alternative to a declining hunting and trapping economy. Many Keewatin area Eskimos found employment at the mine (see Chapter Two). Wages were meager but still far higher than any per capita income derived from trapping. But when the mine closed after some five years of operation (1957-1962), conditions were as bad as before it opened. Personnel from the Department of Northern Affairs were assigned to Rankin Inlet during and after the mine was established. There was a realization on the part of the government that the old days of trapping were over and that some degree of planning and establishment of services would be necessary to ensure the welfare of the population of Rankin Inlet. But it was planning with a very shaky economic base. North Rankin Nickel Mines had been permitted free rein over mineral development in this area. They were subject to few, if any, government restrictions and no preconditions were set down regarding their operation. It was the mine manager who insisted that Eskimos be employed. While this could be interpreted as a progressive move, it must be carefully qualified: first, wages were very low, advancement limited, and <u>apartheid</u> enforced; second, when the mine was no longer profitable, it was closed down, with no concern being shown local employees. To be brief, what all this illustrates is the impossibility of humane economic planning in a capitalist economy. There

never was and there still is not any systematic long-range economic and social planning in the Canadian North.

By the time the mine closed, the formation of an Eskimo proletariat was complete. A few mine employees were briefly kept on in custodial positions. Others, who had received training in various trades sought work in Yellowknife, Churchill, and elsewhere. Unemployment was now a serious problem. In an attempt to move away from relief the Department of Northern Affairs set up a number of small enterprises such as a cannery and handicrafts center. With a population of over 400 Eskimos and 100 whites, housing was in short supply and a number of Eskimos were employed as laborers for housing construction. In addition, several people were hired as equipment operators and maintenance personnel by the Department of Northern Affairs. Apart from these jobs and a few clerical positions there were no other employment opportunities.

The serious economic slump had several important effects on the people of the settlement: first, lowered morale; second, a certain amount of out-migration to other settlements; and third, the attempt on the part of some Eskimos to return to the land. Often Eskimos would seek employment elsewhere only to return later after having had great difficulty in adjusting to urban life. Those who attempted to return to the land did not fare much better. The District of Keewatin was no longer a viable trapping area. This, of course, is in marked contrast to the Mackenzie Delta, for example, where trapping of muskrats as well as fox and other fur bearers is profitable. There was no lack of motivation to work--there was simply no work. Unemployment, coupled with rapid cultural change caused extreme psychological

stress,* resulting in a low level of community solidarity. There was no basis for leadership--not even the very informal patterns of the composite band characteristic of trapping organization. Neither were there any precedents for leadership roles stemming from employment in the mine: no Eskimos had been employed in any supervisory positions. Government virtually dictated policy with no opposition. Buttressed with a great number of racist, ethnocentric and paternalistic stereotypes, government was convinced only it must take the initiative. Eskimos were lazy, irresponsible, child-like, primitive, hunters-at-heart, individualistic, among other things, and above all, needed a great deal of direction. It was a White man's burden.

Thus, left unorganized by successive changes in the economic substructure (with resultant social-organizational change), together with the insight of government administrators, Eskimos entered the most recent era of social and cultural change in the Arctic.

In the analysis of economic and socio-cultural change in the current period, there are a number of different theoretical approaches that can be used. They are of varying utility, depending on what problems one focuses on. I have somewhat arbitrarily labelled these approaches as follows: the functional model, the acculturation model, cultural idealistic model, and finally the Marxist or colonial model. These various approaches, their theoretical origins and implications,

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*Margaret Mead maintains in New Lives for Old (1956) that rapid cultural change may be far more tolerable than piecemeal change. However, applying her perspective to Arctic Canada is unrealistic. Keewatin Eskimos in the course of five years went from trapping to an urban-industrial economy to a ghetto existence. In Manus, however, change was slower, and more complex organizational precedents made it easier for people to adapt to new roles.

and their applicability to the Canadian Arctic will be summarized in detail below as the final section of this thesis.

The Functional Model

Functionalism in anthropology had its origins in the reactions against the historical particularism of the Boas school and the early, so-called unilinear evolutionists. Marvin Harris, in The Rise of Anthropological Theory, comments that the British structural-functionalists

> ... equalled and in many cases surpassed the Boasians in their emphasis upon and actual exposure to fieldwork. Intensive field studies among a small number of aboriginal societies, and intensive analysis of the data from such studies, were organized by this British school around the theme of synchronic functional relations. (1968:514)

Harris (1968:515) considers Durkheim's social solidarity one of the fundamental theoretical premises of structural-functionalism. It was Radcliffe-Brown who insisted that any definition of function must relate to social structure. The most basic postulate of structural-functionalism

> ... is that social systems maintain themselves for significant intervals of time in a steady state during which a high degree of cohesion and solidarity characterizes the relations among its members. (Harris, 1968:515)

This is not to say that structural-functionalists were "innocent of the occurrence of internal conflict and dissension.... But they were not prepared to accept such conflict as a normal, or fundamental, aspect of the human condition" (Harris, 1968:516). Harris (1968:517-18) is most critical of the causal assumptions of Radcliffe-Brown's theory. He asks

> What is the relationship between ecological-economic 'adaption' and social structural 'adaption'? Is it the function of the economic and ecological adaptations to sustain the social structure, or is it rather the function of the social structure to maintain the economic and ecological adaptations? According to structural-functionalism, it is the social structure which always deserves priority of analysis.

It is difficult to refute Harris' view that structural-functionalists have assigned priority of analysis to social structural variables. The growth of functionalism had long-term effects on anthropology both in Britain and in the United States. In the period 1930-1950 a large volume of micro-anthropological research was carried out by people such as Radcliffe-Brown (1952), Firth (1951), Evans-Pritchard (1951), Nadel (1957), Beattie (1955), Mair (1938), Gluckman (1955), Fortes (1940), and others in Britain as well as by American functionalists such as Redfield (1956), Eggan (1950), and Tax (1955). However, in America functionalism did not dominate anthropological theorizing to the extent that it did in Britain. This is attributable, at least in part, to the concurrent rise of culture and personality studies in the United States.

While the rise of structural-functionalism undeniably aided the development of anthropological theory (comparative-statistical studies were an important offshoot) by getting away from the prevalent historicism of the time (Boas (1948), Kroeber (1948), Sapir (1917), Radin (1933), et al), it was inherently limited in its productivity. Structural-functionalism, in its variant forms, could not be reconciled with either neo-evolutionary--cultural ecological theory--or with dialectical materialism. One of the most frequent criticisms directed at the structural-functionalists is their inability to explain change.

It is impractical here to try to summarize the extensive body of literature critical of functionalist approaches to change. Rather let us look briefly at several functionalist attempts at developing theoretical frameworks for the analysis of social change.

Cancian's "Functional Analysis of Change" (1960) is derived in part from Ernest Nagel's work on the philosophy of science. Cancian (1968:208) specifies four ways in which change can be incorporated into functional analysis: first, "Disappearance of G* can be predicted as the result of failure to meet conditions of equilibrium"; second, "If G is defined as a stable rate of change or a moving equilibrium, a stable rate of change can be predicted as the result of fulfillment of the conditions of equilibrium"; third, "compensating changes in the value of state coordinates can be predicted as the result of an 'initial' variation in other state coordinates that threaten the maintenance of G"; and finally, "Systems can be treated as subsystems, that is, as state coordinates maintaining a G in a more inclusive system. Compensating changes in subsystems can be predicted as the result of an 'initial' variation in other subsystems that threaten the maintenance of G."

My criticisms of these functionalist assumptions about change are as follows: first, a system, by definition, is in equilibrium--or it is not a system. In any case, what would bring about disequilibrium? Second, what is a "moving equilibrium"? Equilibria by definition are stable, tension-management "structures". Third, changes in the value of

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*"G" is the property of the system that is maintained or stable. "State coordinates" determine the presence or absence of "G" (Cancian, 1968:205).

state coordinates could only be caused by something external to the system. State coordinates, like vectors, are what keep the system in tension--in equilibrium. Finally, all of the above criticisms are equally applicable to subsystems within more encompassing macro-systems. The only positive statements that one can make are: variables external to the system can cause internal change, or that there are internal contradictions within the system that lead to its own destruction (disequilibrium). But these asides are going beyond the functionalist framework; any system with internal contradictions cannot be in equilibrium--unless one "freezes" social life within a synchronic framework for purposes of explanation.

Gluckman's (1968:219) article, "The Utility of the Equilibrium Model in the Study of Social Change", is a somewhat different functionalist view of change. Gluckman emphasizes that the equilibrium model "... is a method ... a heuristic scheme ... not in itself a theory, for it is not a body of interdependent propositions about the structure of social systems. But it can form a framework for a set of such propositions...." This view contrasts sharply with Cancian's essay. A second point which Gluckman (1968:229) stresses is the following:

> It is not too difficult to work out structural durations, and to isolate continuity with repetitive change from radical change, in such singular institutions as kingships. It is most difficult to do so with groups like villages. ... yet similar methods have been applied with similar gains.

In the spirit of the excerpts above, every social scientist is a functionalist--even Chairman Mao's perpetual revolution is no exception! But if anthropology is to move beyond the level of description to more

sophisticated theorizing, Gluckman's approach is of limited usefulness. As he himself admits, the equilibrium model is primarily an explanatory device.

Another functionalist approach to change is that of Firth--who would probably not appreciate being grouped with the structural-functional school. Firth's functionalism is in some ways more a functionalist psychology in the tradition of Malinowski than an anthropological structural-functionalism in the tradition of Radcliffe-Brown. In Elements of Social Organization, Firth (1951:83-84) states that

> A theoretical framework for the analysis of social change must be concerned largely with what happens to social structures. But to be truly dynamic it must allow for individual action. As a member of society, each separate individual is striving to attain his ends, interacting with other members in the process. All of them are largely governed in their behavior by the set of established basic relationships of the social structure. This embodies sets of expectations as to what people will do in virtue of their social roles, and ideals as to what they do. So the conduct of any individual has a complex scheme of motivations.... At any step in the action process new motivations may present themselves to the individual. These may arise from his perception of the advantages to be derived from the social system ... or they arise from the entry of new factors into the social environment.

Basically, this is a structural-functional perspective. But if the concept of "social structure" is valid, then social structure as a determinant of interaction cannot, to any great degree, "allow for individual action". Whether individuals affect processes of social change is beside the point here. Firth's functionalism rests, like other varieties of functional thought, on the assumption of equilibrium.

Conflict is largely exogenous to the social system; it is not generated from within:

> A change in established patterns tends to bring unforeseen results in its train. The functional interrelation of activities is very delicate. So people who have adopted an innovation may find themselves facing a situation to which they must conform, though very much against what they would have chosen in the beginning could they have known. These new situations, in which unwanted changes are enforced on some members of the society and unforeseen effects encountered by the others, pose fresh organizational problems. So the stage is set for further efforts at change. (Firth, 1951:86)

What Firth leaves unanswered is the problem of causality of change. What kind of change (technological? ideological? demographic? ecological? or other?) is of greatest importance? Is a social system so weak that <u>any</u> kind of change can be sufficiently disruptive to cause its breakdown? No one questions the fact that societies change. But the problem is how we best formulate a <u>theory of change</u>.

<u>Acculturation Models</u>

Acculturation models in many ways closely resemble functionalist approaches to change--one simply substitutes the word "culture" for "society". Cultures, like societies are seen as systems. Acculturation studies developed from American cultural anthropology deriving many of their theoretical premises from the concepts of culture, culture pattern and culture process. British anthropologists prefer to use the term "culture contact". Perhaps the key difference between functionalist and acculturation approaches to the study of socio-cultural change is that the functionalists more narrowly restrict their analyses to roles,

structures, organizations and institutions, while cultural anthropologists rely on the broader, holistic context of culture. Cultural anthropologists are also less precise in specifying independent and dependent variables crucial to the processes of cultural change.

Beals (1962:375-378) states that the exact origins of the term "acculturation" are uncertain. Early usage occurs in the work of J. W. Powell (1880, "culture borrowing"), W. J. McGee (n.d., "piratical acculturation"), Herskovits (1928, "The Cotomissies of Surinam: A Study in Acculturation"), Redfield (1929), Spier (1929), Thurnwald (1932, "The Psychology of Acculturation"), and others with increasing frequency after 1935. The first attempt to systematically define acculturation occurred in 1936 with the publication of the "Memorandum of the Study of Acculturation" (Redfield, R.; Linton, R.; and Herskovits, M. J., American Anthropologist 38:149-52). In the memorandum, "acculturation" is defined as

> ... those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups. (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, 1936:149)

Beals (1962:380) discusses a number of theoretical and methodological problems which have arisen from this definition: he asks (1) "What is meant by 'continuous first-hand contact'?" (2) "What is meant by 'groups of individuals'?" (3) How is acculturation to be related to the concepts of culture change and diffusion? (4) "What is the relation between acculturation and assimilation?" and (5) "Is acculturation a process or a condition?" Also mentioned is the problem of "modifications of culture arising through intermittent contacts with missionaries

or traders, who in some cases are bearers of a culture other than their own" (Beals, 1962:380). Beals (1962:382) suggests that

> In terms of the Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits definition, acculturation should be viewed as a two-way process, affecting both groups in contact. Beyond an occasional suggestion that the culture of Europeans (mainly missionaries, traders and administrators) undergoes some change as a result of contact ... only lip service has been paid to this aspect of acculturation.

He mentions Ortiz' concept of "transculturation" as useful in emphasizing "the reciprocal character of most contact situations" (Beals, 1962:382). Hallowell (1957) stressed this aspect of acculturation in his article "The Impact of the American Indian on American Culture" (American Anthropologist 59:201-217). In a later article, "American Indians, White and Black: The Phenomenon of Transculturalization" (Current Anthropology 4(5):519-32, 1963), Hallowell defined "transculturalization" as

> ... the process whereby individuals under a variety of circumstances are temporarily or permanently detached from one group, enter the web of social relations that constitute another society, and come under the influence of its customs, ideas, and values to a greater or lesser degree.

While Hallowell contributed significantly to the understanding of the social psychology of culture contact, in these and other articles, he did little to clarify the conceptualization of social and cultural processes in acculturation.

Returning once again to the Redfield, Linton, Herskovits definition, acculturation could bring about several different results: these they labelled acceptance, adaptation, and reaction (Beals, 1962:

384). Acceptance involved "taking over the greater portion of another culture and assimilating both to behavior patterns and to inner values of the new culture"; adaptation referred to the combination of original and foreign traits--this combination could involve conflicting attitudes; and reaction referred to the development of nativistic revivals (Beals, 1962:384).

Criticism of the Redfield, Linton, Herskovits acculturation concept is scattered through numerous articles and ethnographies. Suffice it to say--for considerations of brevity--that all this eventually dramatized the need to refine the whole concept of acculturation. This resulted in the 1953 "Summer Seminar on Acculturation" (American Anthropologist 56:973-1000) which was an attempt to improve the theoretical and conceptual frameworks for the study of culture change. The participants in this seminar defined acculturation as

> ... culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems.... Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from non-cultural causes such as ecological or demographic modifications that impinge on a culture; it may be delayed where there are internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life. (974)

An "autonomous cultural system" is defined as "one which is self-sustaining" (974). The unit of analysis in this scheme is any given culture. The 1953 seminar focused on four facets of acculturation: first, "the properties of the two or more autonomous cultural systems which come into contact (boundary-maintaining mechanisms; relative rigidity or flexibility of the internal structure of a cultural system;

and the nature of self-correcting mechanisms in cultural systems); second, the nature of the contact situation; third, the nature of conjunctive relations established between the systems upon contact; and fourth, the cultural processes which flow from the conjunction of the systems" (1954:975-82). Several processes can result from the conjunction of the systems: "intercultural transmission", "disintegration", "reactive adaptation", "fusion", "assimilation", and "stabilized pluralism" (1954:984-990).

In the opinion of this writer the 1953 seminar did little but refine the 1936 statement on acculturation. Little is said about the "direction" culture change is likely to take under given conditions. In other words, there is no dialectic of change. For the most part, there has been no qualitative break with the historical particularism of an earlier age of anthropology. Thus the chronic habit of shying away from the development of series of predictive hypotheses regarding the nature of cultural change persists. The 1960's, however, produced two attempts at giving acculturation theory greater predictive value. One of these, Watson's "Caste as a Form of Acculturation", has been referred to briefly in Chapter One. The other is Dohrenwend and Smith's "Toward a Theory of Acculturation".

Cultural-Idealistic Models

So far, in this hasty overview of approaches to the study of socio-cultural change, two kinds of models have been dealt with: the functional model, which holds that social structures are the key elements of analysis, and acculturation models, which tend to work with an amorphous mass of variables called culture. A third approach to the

analysis of change could be called "cultural-idealistic" (after Harris' use of the term in The Rise of Anthropological Theory). A cultural-idealistic approach stresses that ideology is the most important single cause of change, or resistance to change. Cultural-idealistic models are largely unconcerned with objective economic and political conditions. Two examples will be dealt with here: Lewis' "Culture of Poverty", and Eisenstadt's "Modernization". Both these concepts have become popular in anthropological and sociological literature in recent years. While both approaches have certain ethnocentric overtones, they nevertheless shift the focus from the study of isolated, small-scale, so-called primitive societies to the consideration of regional, national and international contexts.

(1) Modernization. The term "modernization" is frequently used to account for processes of social change in so-called backward countries or developing areas. It seems to this author that the term "modernization" is most frequently used by American social scientists with a conservative political orientation. Modernization, like community development, is the conservative's alternative to revolutionary movements of national liberation. The alternative to "creeping socialism" or communism is the Alliance for Progress, or the Agency for International Development. These American government agencies operate under the context of progress and economic development but are in reality thinly veiled disguises for the perpetuation of American imperialism (see Baran and Sweezy, 1966, Monopoly Capital; Baran, 1957, The Political Economy of Growth; Mandel, 1968, Marxist Economic Theory). Extensive socio-economic change is often seen as necessary and desirable --but it is best that it occurs within an unchanged imperialist context

so as not to disrupt foreign investment.

The term modernization connotes the need to give up age-old, traditional, primitive, backward customs and practices which are seen as standing in the way of progress. What must be encouraged are the Protestant Ethic--industriousness, enterprise, thrift, and commodity fetishism. It is ideology and values which constitute the prime obstacles to change. If these can be changed, the road to all sorts of progress is open. One example of the extensive literature on modernization is Eisenstadt's "Transformation of Social, Political and Cultural Orders in Modernization". Immediately noticeable is the distinction between social, political, and cultural orders. Any consideration of economics is somehow omitted from the process of modernization. Eisenstadt (1965:659) states that

> The institutionalization of change, or the development and crystallization of new institutional settings requires the internal transformation of the societies or groups within which it occurs. The capacity of such internal transformation is manifest in structural frameworks or cultural symbols that enable some groups to mobilize new forces and resources without necessarily destroying the existing structure.

If "structural frameworks" permit "some groups to mobilize new forces", is this really the "institutionalization of change"? That change can become "institutionalized without necessarily destroying the existing structure" is a contradiction in terms! I cannot help but equate institutional change with structural change. More of the same rhetoric appears below.

> A society can be forced to modernize under the impact of external forces, and indeed 19th- and 20th-century modernization has

> meant, to a very large extent, the impingement of Western European institutions on new countries in the Americas, in Eastern and Southern Europe, and in Asia and Africa. Some of these societies have never--or not yet gone beyond adaptation to these external impingements. Lacking a high degree of internal adaptability, many have become stagnant after having started on the road to modernity, or their modern frameworks have tended to break down.... (Eisenstadt, 1965:659-660)

"The impact of external forces", and "the impingements of Western European institutions" can mean only one thing: an imperialistic capitalism. "Some societies have never gone beyond adaptation to these external impingements" really means that colonized areas have not been able to overthrow colonial regimes. "Many have become stagnant" is the imperialist's justification of neo-colonialism. "Their modern frameworks have tended to break down" translates that any anti-imperialist leaders have been systematically disposed of, and that any attempt at rational economic and social planning has been suppressed.

Similarly, the discussion of structural change in modernization is couched in bourgeois ideology. There is no discussion of the dynamics of the class struggle:

> Modernization ... is associated with some definite structural characteristics. Among these the most important are high level of structural differentiation, and of so-called "social mobilization", and a relatively large-scale, unified and centralized institutional framework. Beyond this basic core, the aforementioned structural diversity may develop. These structural features are not to be regarded as simple indices of successful modernization, and their development does not necessarily assure successful modernization. Rather they are necessary but not sufficient conditions for the development and continuity of a modern institutional

> structure sufficiently capable of dealing with continuously changing problems to assure sustained growth. (Eisenstadt, 1965:660)

No doubt structural change must accompany modernization. But structural change alone is insufficient--it is rather socio-economic or political-economic change that is the necessary precondition for modernization. All the structural change possible is not going to help modernize a paleotechnic peasant economy.

Making an arbitrary distinction between social structure, politics, and economics is sterile. Social structure and politics (the relations of production) must be related to the economic substructure of a society to be meaningful. Social stratification is not primarily social; it is economic. Any discussion of stratification must relate to access to, and control over, the means of production. Otherwise there is no way to avoid problems inherent in liberal-idealist ideology.

(2) The Culture of Poverty. The second cultural-idealistic model that will be considered here is Lewis' "Culture of Poverty". This kind of approach has received a good deal of attention in the recent literature on urban studies, Black studies, minority groups and social change (for example, see: Lewis, O., 1965, La Vida; Lewis, O., 1968, A Study of Slum Culture: Backgrounds for La Vida; Gladwin, T., 1967, Poverty U.S.A.; Leighton, A., 1965, Poverty and Social Change; and Valentine, C., 1968, Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counterproposals).

The concept of poverty as a cultural, social, and economic system was first formulated by Oscar Lewis in 1965. Whether Lewis acknowledges it or not, the concept was the end result of related work by anthropologists in peasant communities in colonial areas (Mintz

(1953), Steward (1967), Wolf (1957, 1966), et al) and the work of urban sociologists such as W. F. Whyte and H. Gans. These influences, together with the publication of Harrington's The Other America--Poverty in the United States (1963), cleared the way, so to speak, for Lewis. The whole topic of poverty has been receiving a great deal of attention in recent years due to the increasing prevalence of urban violence and agitation for radical social change on the part of oppressed minority groups in the United States. As well, movements of national liberation in Viet Nam, Angola, Peru, Guatemala, Algeria, and elsewhere have directed public attention to the poverty and oppression that imperialism has fostered outside the United States.

Lewis (1965:xliii) states that

> As an anthropologist, I have tried to understand poverty and its associated traits as a culture, or more accurately, as a way of life which is passed down from generation to generation along family lines.... The culture of poverty in modern nations is not only a matter of economic deprivation, of disorganization or of the absence of something. It is also something positive and provides some rewards without which the poor could hardly carry on.
>
> Elsewhere I have suggested that the culture of poverty transcends regional, rural-urban, and national differences and shows remarkable similarity in family structure, interpersonal relations, time orientation, value systems and spending patterns. These ... similarities are ... common adaptations to common problems.
>
> The culture of poverty ... tends to grow and flourish in societies with ... (1) a cash economy, wage labor, and production for profit; (2) a persistently high rate of unemployment and underemployment for unskilled labor; (3) low wages; (4) the failure to provide social, political and

> economic organization, either on a voluntary basis or by government imposition, for the low-income population; (5) the existence of a bilateral kinship system ... (6) the existence of a set of values in the dominant class which stresses the accumulation of wealth and property, the possibility of upward mobility and thrift, and explains low socio-economic status as the result of personal inadequacy and inferiority.

These, then, are some of the salient characteristics of the "culture of poverty".

Lewis (1965:xliv) stresses the idea that

> The culture of poverty is both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal positions in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society. It represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair which develop from the realization of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society.

In addition, the culture of poverty can be identified by the existence of the following conditions: "... lack of effective participation and integration of the poor in the major institutions of the larger society; ... lack of property ownership, absence of savings, absence of food reserves in the home, a chronic shortage of cash; ... low level of literacy and education; absence of labour unions, political parties, welfare agencies; (little utilization) of banks, hospitals, department stores, museums or art galleries; a critical attitude toward some of the basic institutions of the dominant classes, hatred of the police, mistrust of government.... This gives the culture of poverty a high potential for protest ... aimed against the existing social order" (Lewis, 1965:xlvi). Also likely to exist are "poor housing conditions,

crowding, gregariousness ... a minimum of organization beyond the level of the nuclear and extended family ..." and on the individual level, strong feelings of marginality, helplessness, dependence and inferiority (Lewis, 1965:xlviii). Finally,

> People with a culture of poverty are provincially and locally oriented and have very little sense of history. Usually they do not have the knowledge, the vision of the ideology to see the similarities between their problems and those of their counterparts elsewhere in the world. They are not class-conscious, although they are very sensitive indeed to status distinctions. (Lewis, 1965:xlviii)

It is hard to disagree with Lewis' symptomatology of poverty. But what is questioned is whether Lewis' construct is really the "culture of poverty", or, perhaps more accurately, a lumpenproletarian sub-culture of capitalism. Lewis, of course, briefly touches on this kind of perspective and makes it clear that the culture of poverty is peculiar to capitalist societies. But the very words "culture of poverty" seem to imply, at least on the surface, that if the poor were the object of a well-planned program of directed culture change (in the community development sense) that the culture of poverty would disappear. It is interesting to note that Lewis does not consider at all the possible "solutions" to the culture of poverty. Why this is so is not clear. But it appears to this observer to be the problem of the dichotomy between theory and practice that is common in American social science. Lewis is the scientist describing and analyzing poverty--it is not his job to cure it.

The concept of the culture of poverty could be strengthened somewhat if more attention were devoted to the dynamics of social class

and capitalism--rather than concentrating almost exclusively on the poor. In a sense, Lewis has fallen into the abyss of descriptive ethnography--studying the poor as if they lived on an island in the Pacific Ocean. Another point I would like to stress is that apart from the introduction to La Vida (from which the above quotes are taken), Lewis' writing consists almost entirely of autobiographical statements of his informants together with biographical comments by the anthropologist. This case study approach in many ways is of great value, but by itself, is inadequate. It would be more fruitful to consider in addition (possibly also in biographical and autobiographical form) the culture of affluence and its role as the elite in capitalist societies. In other words, the "culture of poverty" might be better described as the culture of the exploited, the culture of the oppressed, or the culture of the colonized.

* * * * * * * * *

Hopefully, I have adequately summarized the main characteristics of functional, acculturational, and cultural-idealistic approaches to the study of economic and socio-cultural change. Considerations of brevity have prevented the presentation of a more detailed compendium. Before continuing, I should like to emphasize that these several approaches are neither mutually exclusive, nor are they by any means useless. But they suffer from the serious limitations that have been discussed in the course of the text.

In the next section of this chapter I will proceed with an overview of the Marxist (or rather Neo-Marxist) perspective on economic and socio-cultural change and finally apply it to the contemporary

situation of the Caribou Eskimos of the District of Keewatin.

* * * * * * * *

Marxist Models

The approaches to change previously summarized are of limited relevance to contemporary theory and research in anthropology. Traditional functionalist and acculturation models may have been more useful in an earlier age of anthropology when primitive societies were more isolated and self-contained than they are now. So-called primitives or remnants of primitive societies are still to be found in many parts of the world--not as self-contained entities, but as sub-societies (usually colonies or dependencies) of modern nation-states. While it may be discouraging to the salvage ethnographer or museologist who mourns the passing of the noble savage and feels compelled to study the few remaining untouched, stone-age societies, one cannot deny that the dominant fact of the past four centuries has been the evolution of capitalism and imperialism. For this reason alone, it is impossible to ignore Marxist approaches if we are to have an adequate understanding of "contemporary change in traditional societies" (in Steward's words). It is the apologists for and defenders of capitalism who most consistently reject Marx. This, of course, is not surprising if we consider the extensive funds supplied by governments and foundations to support anthropological research by British, Canadian and American anthropologists--research which, for the most part, is carried out in colonial and neo-colonial areas. Two good examples are Project Camelot and the Counterinsurgency Program in Thailand. Naturally, not all anthropological research has military-industrial and imperialist

applications, but a substantial part of it appears to do so. Narrowing the context somewhat, it is essential to understand how prominent anthropologists (from Boas on) have consistently denied the relevance of Marx to anthropological theory and research (see Harris, 1968, Chapter 8).

Harris (1968) believes that the rationale used by anthropologists to legitimize their rejection of Marx has been the fact that, for the most part, Marx neglected to give detailed consideration to pre-feudal, primitive societies, which, according to Harris (1968:228), he regarded as "uninteresting and unilluminating". Harris himself (1968: 227-228), while sympathetic to Marx, is critical of "Marx's ignorance of primitives":

> The ignorance of Marx and Engels with respect to nine-tenths of human history does not appear quite as natural to the anthropologist as to the Marxist philosopher. Granted that anthropology was in its infancy when Marx wrote the Critique of Political Economy (1959), it does not follow that the failure to use ethnographic data was primarily a reflection of that circumstance. Rather we must consider the fact that almost all of the sources employed by Tylor in his Researches into the Early History of Mankind were already available. Instead of the infancy of anthropology, one suspects the dead hand of Hegel, with the latter's contempt for knowledge of the 'unprogressive' parts of mankind. When Marx and Engels declared in the very first line of the Communist Manifesto, 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles,' the immense residual category, 'prehistory,' during which there are no classes, is banished from view....

The systematic dismissal of Marx eventually led to lengthy fixations on historicism, functionalism, and culture and personality, which dominated

anthropology until the 1950's. These orientations, however, did not prevent the later development of cultural-ecological (Steward, 1955) and cultural-materialist (White, 1943) theory--something which Harris (1968: 655) attributes to the felt need of anthropology to strengthen its "scientific credentials". There were, in addition, other attempts at a more scientific anthropology--the new structuralism of Levi-Strauss (1963) and the related approaches of the so-called ethnoscience school (Burling, 1944; Conklin, 1955; Coult, 1966; Goodenough, 1956).

Cultural-ecology and cultural materialism drew extensively from Marxist thought, but are nevertheless qualitatively different from Marxism. Harris (1968:637) comments that

> ... it takes more than cultural materialism to qualify for Communist approval. One must also accept the dialectic nature of evolutionary process, especially as related to the primacy of conflict in structural change.

Thus, for example, Leslie White, while a materialist, was not a dialectical materialist, but in the terms of Engels, a "mechanical materialist" (Harris, 1968:638). Later so-called neo-evolutionists (Service and Sahlins, Fried, et al), while in the mainstream of contemporary anthropology, should not really be classed as Marxists.

Only the absolute barest essentials of Marxism can be touched on here. In Harris' (1968:231) words, Marx

> ... split the non-ideological aspects of sociocultural life into two parts: the economic structure ('the real foundation') and the 'legal and political superstructure.' He came to distinguish, therefore, three major sociocultural segments: (1) the economic base; (2) the legal-political arrangements, which in modern terms correspond to social structure, or social organization; and (3)

> 'social consciousness' or ideology. Marx and Engels then boldly proclaimed that it was in the economic base that the explanation for both parts of the superstructure--social organization and ideology--were to be found.
>
> Why was it not the other way around? Why not the dominance of social organization over economics? The answer here is contained in the phrase which associates 'relations of production' with a 'definite stage of development' of man's material powers of production which renders the 'relations of production' <u>independent</u> of man's will. For no group of men can will into existence whenever and whatever they choose, the apparatus of production ... <u>except in a definite order of progression</u>.

The "definite order of progression" is, of course, the stages of (pre-feudalism), feudalism, capitalism, socialism (and communism). Each stage, because of the material dialectic of history, contains both system-maintaining and system-destroying (contradictions) qualities. The progression is an inevitable one.

This, then, is the most basic framework of Marxian political economy and sociology upon which the so-called Neo-Marxists have relied to construct their own approaches. In the rest of this section I will focus on the Neo-Marxists rather than on classical Marxian thought, since it is the former who are most relevant to contemporary capitalism and imperialism, and, as such, most relevant to the problem at hand, the Canadian Arctic.

* * * * * * * *

<u>The Contemporary Situation: Colonialism, Social Change, and Emergent Patterns of Social Stratification</u>

Ernest Mandel has analyzed the economic and political factors

that have contributed to the development of colonialism. In Marxist Economic Theory (Mandel, II:1968:448) he states that

> ... under the pressure of (the) more or less chronic surplus of capital ... the capitalists sought an outlet in the non-industrialized countries, either the empty countries of the British Empire (Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand), or the colonial countries in the strict sense (especially in Africa and Asia), or the semi-colonial countries which, while formally independent, became transformed into dependencies of the imperialist countries (notably the countries of Latin America and those of Eastern Europe).

Colonization served as more than an outlet for surplus capital. Imperial countries depended on new sources of raw materials for their aggrandizement. The earlier phases of the colonization of Canada--the fur trade in southern Canada and the exploitation of fish resources off the Grand Banks of Newfoundland--were accompanied by extensive settlement of new areas and the direct seizure of lands from indigenous peoples by the colonial powers--France and Britain. After the establishment of the Dominion of Canada in 1867, it is more accurate to speak of neo-colonialism in the sense that Britain controlled sources of capital and the investment of capital--despite the fact that Canada had been accorded nominal independence. After 1867 settlement and direct exploitation of resources were not as important. Canada, being an entirely underdeveloped country with a small population, lacked the capacity to generate enough capital for her own development. In addition, after the achievement of "independence", Canada's economic ties with the United States became increasingly pervasive. American imperialism, while not accompanied for the most part by military conquest, nevertheless became the dominant fact of Canada's economic life in the twentieth century.

The subjugation of Canada's aboriginal inhabitants--first Indians, and later Eskimos--was a necessary precondition in clearing the way for colonial exploitation. In fact, it is not unrealistic to say that the continued subjugation of Indians and Eskimos, along with other proletarian and lumpenproletarian segments of the population, is necessary to maintain an increasingly shaky capitalist economy--an economy which is always at the mercy of inflation and the inevitable boom and bust cycles that the "tendency of surplus to rise" produce (Baran and Sweezy, 1966). Mandel (1968:452) comments that

> Loans to foreign countries are tied up in mining, industrial or harbour installations, or in plantations which have to be protected against the 'ignorant,' 'lazy,' 'fanatical,' or 'xenophobic' mass of 'natives.' The age of monopoly capitalism thus rapidly becomes the age of neo-colonialism. Grabbing foreign lands and closing them to foreign competition as markets for finished products, sources of raw material and cheap labour, or fields for capital investment, that is, as sources of super-profits: this is what becomes the central theme of the foreign policy of capitalist countries from the 1880's onward.

Monopoly capitalism in the Canadian Arctic started with the granting of the monopoly charter to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 by the British Crown. Later inroads of monopoly capitalism were the opening of mining installations--Rankin Inlet is a good example--with their company towns and company administration and company control over supposedly Crown land. Presently it is oil that is the dominant outlet for capital--not only in the Canadian Arctic Archipelago, but as well, in several southern provinces. As with almost all Canadian industry, the main source of capital is American, the main beneficiary of profits, the United States.

As has been the case throughout the "development" of the Canadian North, indigenous peoples have benefited least (if at all) from the huge influx of foreign capital.

With the abundance of oil in the world, why should Canada and also the state of Alaska be two of the prime areas for the investment of capital into oil exploration? Mandel (1968:453) argues that

> The export of capital and the colonialism associated with it are monopoly capital's reaction to the fall of the average rate of profit in highly industrialized metropolitan countries, and to the reduction in profitable fields for investment of capital in these countries. In this sense they are only the expression at a particular moment in history of the general characteristic of the capitalist mode of production, of the way it grows and spreads: capital moves towards spheres in which the rate of profit expected is higher than average.

To this interpretation must be added another consideration: traditional colonial outlets for American and other foreign capital are becoming less dependable than they once were, as movements of national liberation develop in more and more third world countries. Thus the underdeveloped parts of Canada and even the United States itself have come to be regarded as areas in which stable governments (sympathetic to investment) make for safe outlets for capital. The fear of insurrection or revolution in Venezuela, Egypt, Nigeria, and elsewhere is a very real one. The fear of similar occurrences in Canada is virtually nil--at least for the moment. Even frequent violence directed at foreign companies in the potentially revolutionary province of Quebec has not, for the most part, deterred increased foreign investment. Northern Canada is far more peaceful than Quebec and thus an excellent target for

surplus capital.

Only the particular resources under exploitation change, not the basic pattern. Thus the Indian and Eskimo pool of surplus labor is as easily exploitable now as it was during the whaling trade, the fur trade, the construction of the D.E.W. Line, or the mining operation at Rankin Inlet. It is in this context, and in this context alone, that we must analyze the impact of colonialism on indigenous economic and social organization of the Caribou Eskimos of the District of Keewatin. In his section on the "world-wide division of labour" Mandel (1968:459) states

> The export of goods to the backward countries during the nineteenth century had the effects of destroying the old modes of production in these countries without making possible the introduction of the new capitalist mode of production. The export of goods made up to some extent for the inadequacy of the native property owning classes as regards accumulation of capital, and so made possible an initial phase of capitalist development in these countries. But the imperialist bourgeoisie introduced the capitalist mode of production in a very special way. It developed there without any connection with the country in question's need for economic or industrial development, but instead, in accordance with the exclusive interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie and of the metropolitan country itself.... The capital came from the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries, who were looking for a kind of production with guaranteed markets, which would make it possible to realize colonial superprofits produced by colonial labour.

Mandel's discussion of this aspect of colonialism fits, with one or two exceptions, the Northern Canadian case. In the Central Arctic one cannot, in contrast to other colonial areas, speak of "native property-owning classes". However, Eskimos do own some of the means of

production--such as fishing boats and sealing nets--and could withdraw their services if they desired to do so. But they could not, in contrast to Indians in the south, play off competing capitalists--the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company--until their merger in 1821 (Innis, 1930:280). Also, any accumulation of capital by Eskimos, while not impossible, was difficult. Transactions between them and the Hudson's Bay Company were not on a cash basis (Jenness, 1964:12, 41). Any capital assets they acquired--which in good fur years might have been substantial--were on the basis of traded furs, and as such, were not fluid, easily convertible assets. Apart from these exceptions, Mandel's analysis fits.

Having analyzed briefly some of the major features of imperialistic capitalism, let us now look more closely at the nature of relationships between the colonial power and the colony. Here Balandier (1951:47) provides an excellent summary:

> If we set forth in a very schematic fashion the various social groupings brought together by the colonial situation, classifying them, starting with the colonial power (the dominant group) and ending with the colonial population (the subject group), we find: (a) the colonial power, not including foreigners of the white race; (b) white 'foreigners;' (c) the 'coloured'--to use the English expression which defined broadly; (d) the colonized population whom the British call 'the natives.' We find a distinction and a hierarchy based, first of all, on the criteria of race and nationality, implying as a sort of postulate the excellence of the white race, and more especially, of that fraction which is the colonial power (its supremacy is given as a fact of history, established by nature).

Generally speaking, these defining characteristics of the colonial

situation are easily applicable to Northern Canada. Below I propose a very rough and tentative typology of social differentiation indicative of emergent settlement patterns in Northern Canada:

1. Transient civil servants; included here are government personnel discussed in Chapter Three: traders, police officers, teachers, nurses, administrators, and other government personnel--mechanics, truck drivers, radio operators, flight controllers, maintenance men, advisors to cooperatives, handicraft specialists, and others. While these people are transients, the length of their residence is usually two years or more--the common minimum contract period of the most northern government agencies. However, they are often shifted around from one settlement to another. Most, though not all, of these people occupy high status positions--prestigious positions with high pay, including fringe benefits such as isolation allowances, travel allowances, etc.

2. Transient whites in non-government positions; this category includes construction workers, surveyors, engineers, geologists, and anybody based in a Northern settlement for a limited period of time with specified tasks to carry out. They are a part of neither the native community nor the white community.

3. An Eskimo elite; the number of Eskimos who fall into this category is tiny; included here would be the Territorial Councillor for the Eastern Arctic, the owner of a small charter airline in Inuvik, the few Eskimo university graduates, occasionally a highly successful hunter and trapper, and owners of whaleboats. While this group is an elite in the mind of the social scientist, they may not be so seen by other Eskimos.

4. An Emergent Eskimo (and depending on the location, Indian) petite bourgeoisie; this category includes those who fall into Vallee's grouping of Kabloonamiut. It is a petite bourgeoisie composed of first and second generation settlement Eskimos who are employed in lower-status civil servants jobs such as clerk, secretary, mechanic, administrative assistant, nurse's aide, teacher's aide and the like. Thus far, there are few Eskimos who own and operate small businesses. Such people are oriented toward white-Canadian culture in almost every way. They may still speak Eskimo, but often they look down upon its use.

5. Permanent non-native residents of the North; this category includes those people, almost entirely white, who regard the north, not necessarily a single settlement, as their "home town". For the most part, but not entirely, these people tend to occupy fairly low-status positions--low-status from the point of view of southern whites who in terms of power are the dominant group. However, these low-status non-native residents may be more positively evaluated by local native residents, perhaps because of their permanent commitment towards living in the North, and their hostility toward southern

bureaucrats.

6. People of mixed Eskimo-Indian-white descent; this stratum is a relatively new phenomenon in the emergent class stratification of Northern settlements--particularly the larger centers such as Yellowknife, Inuvik-Aklavik, Great Whale River. As yet, this category is insignificant in terms of numbers in the smaller settlements such as Rankin Inlet, Eskimo Point and Baker Lake, and others. People in this stratum are likely to occupy a variety of status positions with the distribution skewed toward the low end of the class structure. In terms of relations between the different ethnic groups, people of mixed descent are likely to be marginal--in terms of their acceptance or rejection by others.

7. The Eskimo proletariat; this is by far the largest Eskimo stratum; it is composed of two, but not altogether distinct, segments: Kabloonamiut of low-status--unskilled, part-time laborers, journeymen's helpers, guides, the unemployed, etc.; and Nunamiut--those Eskimos who choose to remain on the land--a number which is continually decreasing.

(One might also add yet another category--the large numbers of Eskimos who are in southern hospitals at any given time.)

While this classification may seem unnecessarily complicated in view of the fact that the total population of the Northwest Territories is only about 35,000 people, I do not think it is unrealistic. Even very small communities such as those considered in detail in Chapter Two are highly segmented. One can even add to the seven-fold classification presented above the variables of linguistic affiliation (and there are numerous Eskimo dialects) as well as another category, that of highly mobile Eskimos who move to wherever they can find employment. I stress again that the classification is tentative and that its validity will be tested in the course of future field work. The criteria that have been used for outlining these categories are several, and this is another weakness in the classification. But for the moment, the number of categories must be kept to managable size.

The above patterns of stratification have developed in the course of several hundred years of Eskimo-white contact. Now the system

of stratification must be related more closely to the colonial situation.

Balandier (1951:54-55) states that the most obvious conditions of the colonial situation are

> (1) the domination imposed by a foreign minority, racially (or ethnically) and culturally different, acting in the name of a racial (or ethnic) cultural superiority dogmatically affirmed, and imposing itself on an indigenous population constituting a numerical majority but inferior to the dominant group from a material point of view; (2) this domination linking radically different civilizations in some form of relationship; (3) a mechanized, industrialized society with a powerful economy, a fast tempo of life, and a Christian background, imposing itself on a non-industrialized, 'backward' society in which the pace of living is much slower and religious institutions are most definitely 'non-Christian;' (4) the fundamentally antagonistic character of the relationship between these two societies resulting from the subservient role to which the colonial people are subjected as 'instruments' of the colonial power; (5) the need in maintaining this domination, not only to resort to 'force,' but also to a system of pseudo-justifications and stereotyped behaviors.

The strategies used by Northern whites to maintain their domination and Eskimo responses to these strategies are aptly described by Vallee (1967:200-201):

> The Kabloona try to convince the Eskimos that their decision-making powers are limited, that they are really only cogs in a machine. But what do the Eskimos see? They see the Kabloona making decisions every day which are of the most crucial importance to the Eskimos. The Kabloona try to convince the Eskimos verbally that their own purchasing power is narrowly limited, that they (the Kabloona) are really poor. But what do the Eskimos see? They see people living in what to them are immense

> houses, the smallest of which is many times bigger than the average Eskimo tent, igloo or shack; surrounded by an incredibly opulent array of red maple furniture, radios, tape recorders, beds, movie cameras and projectors, any of which objects is worth more than the entire estate of some Eskimo families. The Eskimo women who mind the Kabloona children and keep the Kabloona domiciles free of dust and grime report on the fabulous stocks of food-stuffs, extra blankets, toys and cupboards full of clothing common to these homes.
>
> The conclusion which the Eskimo is likely to draw ... is that those in the south must have infinite powers of this kind.... Indeed, we have seen that they have evidence of the wondrous powers of the bosses outside: not only do local officials defer to them, but when they come to visit, all the garbage has to be concealed and a special impression created.
>
> If the Eskimos do not understand the logic of Kabloona life this does not mean they have no rational ways of dealing with the Kabloona. Actually, over the decades they have developed formulae which they apply to their dealings with Kabloona which seem to work.... A few of the relevant formulae may be stated as follows:
>
> (1) Let the Kabloona person initiate action. Except when on the land, the Kabloona know best, so always let them lead.
> (2) Never displease a Kabloona by open resistance to his suggestions or commands ... say you do not understand or, better, go away and do it your own way and hope that the results are so satisfactory that the Kabloona will be pleased.

There are many other informal rules, such as the "thank-you ritual" (1967:201). Eskimos may have adapted to white domination, but they have not been able to overcome it. Years of white domination, the destruction of band organization, and the virtual institutionalization

of relationships of dominance-submission have resulted in the wholesale "colonization of the (Eskimo) personality" (Fanon). Resistance to white domination is unlikely. The colonizer has convinced the native of the inferiority of all aspects of the native culture. The colonizer may admire some aspects of native culture, but these are usually "simple", "primitive", "animal-like", or other characteristics that nicely fit the noble savage stereotype. Fanon, in his several works, goes into great detail regarding the psychoses that colonialism contributed to amongst Algerian nationals before de-colonization. The deprecation of the culture of the colonized is not merely attributable to ethnocentrism or cultural differences in attitudes toward child-rearing, sexual practices, technology, eating habits, sleeping habits, etc. Rather, it is attributable to the effects of a well-developed, highly systematic, overtly and covertly racist ideology--an ideology of the colonizer to facilitate and justify, whether consciously or unconsciously, the exploitation of the colonized.

The attitudes of the colonizer toward the colonized are expressed not only in ideological terms. There are numerous material, observable results of the application of the ideology. The physical characteristics of the settlements of the colonizer and the colonized are a good example. The following quote from Fanon (1968:38-40) is unaltered except for the addition in parentheses of the local equivalent of what he is describing.

> The zone where the natives live is not complimentary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed (see Chapter Two regarding the layout of Rankin Inlet or the town plan of Baker Lake (Vallee, 1967:19) as well as the long excerpt from Vallee on pp. 101-102 of this

paper), but not in the service of a higher unity. Obedient to the rules of pure Aristotelian logic, they both follow the principle of reciprocal exclusivity. No conciliation is possible.... The settlers town is a strongly built town, it is made of stone and steel (imported prefabricated houses). It is a brightly lit town; all the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings. ... The settler's feet are never visible. ... His feet are protected by strong shoes (boots).... The settler's town is a well-fed town (supplied with air-freighted fresh fruit, vegetables, and meat which for most Eskimos are prohibitively expensive) ... the settlers town is a town of white people, of foreigners. The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill-fame, peopled by men of evil repute (for an example relevant to Canada, see D. Clairmont's Deviance Among Indians and Eskimos in Aklavik, N.W.T., Northern Coordination and Research Centre Publication 63-9). They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where or how. It is a world without spaciousness ... their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal (in the Canadian Arctic, fuel oil at upwards of $1.00 per gal.). The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire. It is a town of niggers and dirty Arabs. The look that the native turns on the settlers town is a look of lust, a look of envy; it expresses his dreams of possession--all manner of possession: to sit at the settler's table, to sleep in the settler's bed, with his wife if possible. The colonized man is an envious man. And this the settler knows very well; when their glances meet, he ascertains bitterly, always on the defensive, 'they want to take our place.' It is true, for there is no native who does not dream at least once a day of setting himself up in the settler's place.

This world is divided into compartments,

> this world cut in two is inhabited by two different species. The originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality, and the immense difference in the ways of life never come to mask the human realities. (emphasis mine)

The essentials of colonialism could not have been summarized more eloquently. Fanon, a psychiatrist, has not underestimated the economic factors of the colonial situation.

In less emotional, but qualitatively similar terms, Raymond Kennedy (1945) provides an excellent summary of the characteristics of colonialism. With specific regard to Canada (south of the Arctic), Worsley, Buckley, and Davis (1961) have discussed the context of colonialism in Northern Saskatchewan.

The brutality of colonialism may be hard to accept--particularly so the internal colonialism of Canada. But only a Marxist approach can explain the "stagnation" of the development of Eskimo social organization and the failure of Eskimos to actively oppose further intrusion by capitalism. If one moves away from or ignores the dialectical materialism of Marx, there are few, if any, alternative explanations of any value. The excerpt below, taken from Willmott's "The Flexibility of Eskimo Social Organization" (1960:56), aptly demonstrates the limitations of a mentalist-idealist, cultural-relativist approach.

> There is no doubt that flexibility had much to do with the fact that 'white' contact with Eskimos has been relatively free of conflict.... Since action patterns were not rigid nor heavily value-laden, they could adapt to the changing situation without the Eskimo feeling an overwhelming sense of loss. Changes introduced by 'whites' were not viewed as threats to an Eskimo way of life, but rather as a fact of the environment to which the Eskimo must adapt with the same approach he has always

> used in adapting to a hard and capricious physical environment.
>
> The Eskimos' attitude toward the environment is summed up in the word 'arunamut,' which literally means, 'because nothing can be done,' and implies therefore 'we must face the situation without regret.' Ever since the white man entered the Arctic, the Eskimo has said 'arunamut' to all his incomprehensible antics. White economy, then white religion, and finally white political authority have penetrated Eskimo society, wrought far-reaching and irrevocable changes on it.... Yet these changes have not been overtly opposed by the Eskimos. Rather the social organization has adapted to the changes as it would adapt to a natural disaster or an environmental change....
>
> ... The problem facing the administrator in such circumstances is not one of gradualism to avoid conflict, but rather the destruction of the relationship with whites that involves the acceptance of white authority as an uncontrollable part of the environment, and the reassertion by the Eskimo of control over other areas of culture that have been in white hands. Fundamental in this process will be the realization that of economic independence of the Eskimo local group, its ability to act as a free agent in economic matters.

* * * * * * * *

The Russian anthropologist L. A. Fainberg (1963:43) provides the best summary of this thesis that I can find:

> ... complete effectuation of the progressive plans for the solution of the Eskimo problem is impossible under the conditions of capitalism--conditions of rapacious opening of the north by imperialist monopolies.

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